Thy Cordial friend
Sam'l M. Janney

MEMOIRS

OF

SAMUEL M. JANNEY

LATE OF LINCOLN, LOUDOUN COUNTY, VA.

A Minister in the Religious Society of Friends,

(WRITTEN BY HIMSELF.)

"Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord from henceforth;
Yea, saith the spirit, that they may rest from their labors, and their works do follow them."—REV. 14: 13.

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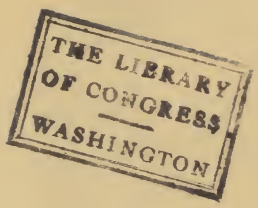

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PREFACE.

The memoir of my dear father was begun, as he tells us, with the view of leaving it as a legacy to his children, but in his latter years, he was willing that the experience of his long and eventful life, should be used in any way to promote the "Cause of Truth."

A few judicious friends have carefully read the manuscript left by him, and they encourage me in the belief that the instructive matter it contains is worthy of publication, and will be valued, especially by those who knew and loved him.

C. J.

Lincoln, Loudoun Co., Va., 3d Mo. 1st, 1881.

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Memoirs of Samuel M. Janney.

CHAPTER I.

Birth and parentage—Some account of his ancestors—Death of his mother—Early religious impressions—Reading the Scriptures—Removal to Fairfax—Goes into his uncle's counting-house in Alexandria—Self-improvement—Reflections upon the Classics.

1801.

It has often been to my mind a subject of serious consideration, whether it would not be right to leave behind me some account of my life and religious experience, for the benefit of survivors.

At an early period I kept a diary, in which I wrote occasionally, as a remembrancer for my own use, and I have some memorandums relating to several of my journeys in the gospel ministry. But I have been prevented from keeping a regular journal of my life; partly by the apprehension that I could write nothing on the subject worthy of preservation, and partly by the pressure of other engagements.

It has, however, occurred to me, that I have experienced many preservations and deliverances, for which I am indebted to the unmerited mercy of my Heavenly Father, and that some account of these, together with the most interesting incidents of my life, might be an acceptable legacy to my children.

Being now in my fifty-seventh year, I am admonished, by the approach of old age, that this work, if ever done rightly, must be commenced soon, and prosecuted at such intervals of leisure as I may be able to appropriate to this purpose.

I was born in Loudon county, Virginia, the 11th of 1st month, 1801; being the eldest child of Abijah and Jane Janney, who were members of the religious Society of Friends, and much esteemed among their neighbors. They were good examples of integrity, meekness and purity.

My paternal ancestors for many generations were Friends, and so far as I can learn, they were exemplary members of the Society. The earliest among them of whom we have any certain account, was Thomas Janney, of Cheshire, England. He was convinced of the principles of Friends about the year 1654, when the Society first arose in that country.* The next year after his convincement, being then in the 22d year of his age, he received a gift in the gospel ministry, and being faithful to the teachings of the Holy Spirit, he improved in his gift, and became instrumental in promoting the cause of truth.

In his native country he suffered loss of goods and imprisonment for his religious testimony.† In the year 1683 he came to Pennsylvania, with his family, and settled in Bucks county, which was during the time of William Penn's first visit to America. He served as a member of the Governor's Council, and is mentioned in the letters of William Penn in terms of regard.‡ He traveled extensively as a minister of the gospel; having visited Ireland, and many parts of England, before his emigration to America; and

* Piety Promoted; Vol. I. Philad. Memorials of Friends. 1787.

† Besse's Sufferings of Friends; Vol. I, pp. 100, 104, 105.

‡ Proud's History of Pennsylvania.

afterwards he several times visited the Churches not only in Pennsylvania and New Jersey, also in New England, Long Island, and Maryland. In 1695 he went, in company with Griffith Owen, to visit his brethren in England, where, after about eighteen months' service in the work of the gospel, he was taken ill, and died in the 12th month, 1696, in Cheshire, aged about 63 years, having been a minister about 42 years.§

In a "Testimony concerning him from Friends of Falls Monthly Meeting," they say: "We loved and highly esteemed him for his work's sake, being an able minister of the gospel, sound in doctrine, endowed with wisdom and a ready utterance, and favored with openings into the mysteries of the things of God's kingdom. He was not forward to offer his gift, having a true regard to the Giver, who said formerly, 'Cast the net on the right side of the ship;' therefore 'his bow abode in strength.' And though the Lord had furnished him with such excellent qualifications, he had so learned self-denial as not to glory therein, but was ready to prefer his friends before himself, and give them the right hand of fellowship; being careful to keep the testimony of truth clear on all accounts, saying, 'Those that appear in public are doubly bound to do so.' He was of a cheerful and peaceable temper, and innocent and blameless life."

When approaching the close of life, he said: "My care hath been for my sons, that they may be kept in the fear of God. I have been a good example to them; I have a care upon me that they may be kept humble while they are young; that they may bend their necks under the yoke of Christ. If I am taken away, I am very clear in my spirit

§ Bouden's Hist. of Friends in America; Vol. II., p. 120.

I have answered the requirings of God. I have been faithful in my day, and I have nothing that troubles my spirit; my spirit is very clear.*

Jacob Janney was the grandson of Thomas Janney. He came from Bucks county, Pa., to Loudon county, Va., about the year 1745, being one of the earliest settlers in that neighborhood where Goose Creek Monthly Meeting was afterwards established. He was, I believe, an Elder of the meeting. His wife, Hannah Janney, who long survived him, and attained to the age of 93 years, was an Elder, highly esteemed, as appears by a memorial from the meeting to which she belonged. They had a large family, mostly sons, and one of them, Israel Janney, was my grandfather, whom I well remember as a dignified and exemplary man; an Elder of the meeting, and much respected in the neighborhood. In the education of his large family of children, of whom seven sons and two daughters attained to maturity, he was careful to maintain obedience by strict discipline, and they nearly all became useful members of society.

My father, who was the eldest son, adopted a mode of parental government less rigorous than that of his father, and he was enabled, through the power of love and the influence of a consistent example, to educate all his children, of whom twelve attained to maturity, in the principles and practice of virtue.

My mother was of Scottish descent, being the daughter of John and Hannah McPherson, who were exemplary and consistent Friends. At the time of their marriage, they were members of Hopewell Monthly Meeting, Frederic county, Va.

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* Smith's Hist. of Friends in Penna. Hazard's Register; Vol. I, p. 213.

I have been told by many persons who knew her, that my mother was a very lovely woman; but I had not long the advantage of her tender care and counsel, for she was removed by death when I was about twelve years of age. I well remember being called from my bed at night and conducted into her chamber, to take my last farewell and to receive her dying benediction.

This brief sketch of my ancestors is intended as a memorial of their virtues, and an incentive to their numerous descendants to pursue the same course of obedience to the divine law, by which our happiness and usefulness here will be promoted, and our eternal felicity secured in the life to come. May we ever remember that righteousness cannot be transmitted as an inheritance; but each succeeding generation must encounter the temptations and trials incident to this state of being; a victory over sin can only be achieved by reliance upon divine aid, and obedience to the voice of God in the soul. So far from deriving any real merit from the virtues of our ancestors, we may, by neglecting to follow their example, incur a greater responsibility and a heavier condemnation. The rebellious Jews boasted that they had Abraham for their father, while they were without the faith of Abraham and destitute of his virtues.

There is, however, an advantage derived from preserving the memorials of a virtuous ancestry, and frequently recurring to their example as a means of inciting us to goodness. This consideration, I believe, frequently operates beneficially upon the youthful mind. For my own part, I can feelingly adopt the language of Cowper:—

> "My boast is not that I deduce my birth
> From loins enthron'd, and rulers of the earth;
> But higher far my proud pretensions rise,
> The Son of parents passed into the skies."

I remember that at a very early age I experienced the operation of divine grace condemning me for evil, and inciting me to goodness. I was sent to school when quite young, and soon learned to read, which became a source of pleasure and instruction. There were at that time very few books in the neighborhood. Those possessed by my father were, so far as I can remember, all of a useful character. Murray's Introduction to the English Reader was read in our school by the younger class, to which I belonged, and I recollect that during the reading of one of the pathetic pieces, I burst into tears, and could not proceed. In my youthful days I took great interest in reading the Bible, and so strong were the impressions sometimes made upon my feelings during its perusal, that I can remember now the very spot where I sat, engrossed with its instructive pages. When I read the narratives of the Evangelists concerning the discourses and miracles of Christ, I sometimes thought if I had only lived at the time when he was personally on earth, how gladly would I have followed his footsteps, in order to receive the lessons of instruction that fell from his holy lips, to behold the wonderful works that he did, and to partake of those spiritual blessings that he dispensed to his followers. But I have since learned that we of this generation are as highly favored as any that have lived before us; because, like those of former ages, we may have access to the Father through the Son, by obedience to the manifestations of his light and grace in our hearts. We have also the advantage of perusing the Scriptures of truth, and of many excellent books calculated to promote piety and virtue; and in addition to these high privileges, we live in an age and country where we enjoy civil and religious liberty. For the last of these blessings we are, under Divine Providence, greatly

indebted to our predecessors in the Religious Society of Friends, who by their labors and their sufferings were instrumental in reviving primitive Christianity and promoting the Redeemer's kingdom.

After the death of my mother, my father, having sold his mill and farm in Loudon, removed to Fairfax county, and joining in partnership with two brothers-in-law, they built the mill called Triadelphia, about four miles west of Alexandria.

While residing at my father's house, I attended school in Alexandria for a short time, and was then placed, at about fourteen years of age, in the counting-house of my uncle Phineas Janney, of Alexandria, who was a commission merchant and an importer of iron. I lived in his family during the remainder of my minority, and until I was married. To him and his wife, Sarah S. Janney, I feel greatly indebted for their kindness towards me, and their long-continued attention to my welfare.

At the time I entered the counting-house, I had made but little progress in my studies: Reading and Writing, the rudiments of English Grammar and an imperfect knowledge of Arithmetic constituted the sum of my school acquirements; but I had a great thirst for knowledge, and took much pleasure in reading.

The business I had to do occupied not more than half of my time, and my uncle had no objection to my reading suitable books in the counting-house during leisure hours. I soon reviewed my Arithmetic, and commenced Algebra, and my uncle sent me to a night school to learn the French language. Subsequently I went, as a night scholar, to the school of my valued friend Benjamin Hallowell, to study Surveying.

My taste for mathematical studies was not sufficient to

induce me to pursue them with ardor, and the time for such pursuits being limited, I never attained to much proficiency in them.

Natural Philosophy and Chemistry were favorite studies with me, and in order to pursue the latter of these sciences with success, I induced a number of my young friends to join with me in forming an association. We purchased apparatus, performed experiments and delivered lectures, which became to us a source of much pleasure, and promoted our progress in scientific knowledge.

My strongest predilection was for literature, and I read with avidity almost every work that came in my way, except those that were considered pernicious, and even some of this class occasionally shared my attention, notwithstanding the repoofs of that Divine monitor which pleads with us in the secret of the soul, and condemns for sin.

In order to promote my improvement in literary taste, I joined a number of young men in forming a literary society, which met once a month to read and criticise original essays. This society became to me exceedingly interesting; it was continued for several years, and many of the essays were published in papers devoted to literature.

About this period I felt a desire to become distinguished for learning, and indulged in aspirations for literary fame. In order to assist me in the attainment of these ends, I commenced the study of the Latin Grammar. Before I had made much progress, my mind was brought under religious exercise: I wished to scrutinize the motives by which I was actuated; and finding them not pure, nor, as I believed, consistent with the Divine will, I renounced the study. Since that time I have reflected much upon the subject of the ancient classics, and although I have felt my deficiency in that branch of learning, I can-

not say that I have ever repented of the decision then made.

It is impossible to tell what would have been the result, if I had persevered, and become a classical scholar; but in renouncing the study I sincerely believed I was doing right; and I hold that Divine Providence watches over individuals as well as over nations, and by his secret guidance shapes our destinies.

In looking back on my past life, I can see that in many cases disappointments and afflictions that I regarded as calamities, proved to be blessings in disguise; and many instances that appeared to be of little importance, led to unexpected and beneficial results.

CHAPTER II.

Edward Stabler and Dr. Dick—Teaches in a Presbyterian Sabbath-school—Establishes with others a First-day school for colored people—Religious exercises.

1824.

About the time I was approaching manhood, the meeting of Friends in Alexandria was favored with the religious services of two ministers whom I highly esteemed, and from both of whom I derived instruction and consolation. These were Edward Stabler and Dr. Elisha C. Dick.

Edward Stabler was the younger of the two, but had been much longer in the ministry. He was a remarkable example of uprightness and purity in conduct and conversation, and his ministry was highly appreciated by most of those who heard him. By the members of our meeting he was much beloved. His mind, originally vigorous, was

enlarged by knowledge and strengthened by exercise; he had a remarkable fluency of expression, and was sometimes eloquent. But it was in familiar conversation that he most excelled; for whatever might be the subject introduced, he could discourse interestingly upon it, and illustrate his views from the rich stores of his memory; always endeavoring to blend instruction with enjoyment, and generally ending with some important religious truth.

He was always kind and attentive to me, and I made it a practice frequently to stop at his apothecary shop, in the evening, on my way home from the counting-house.

On these occasions he generally entertained me, and others who happened to be present, with the rich flow of his colloquial powers, dwelling much upon the beauty of holiness and the goodness of God. His sons were among my most intimate friends, and William, the eldest, afterwards became my frequent companion in religious services.

Dr. Dick had been a gay, fashionable man, and it was not till after he had passed the meridian of life, that he renounced the world and joined in membership with Friends. He was a man of considerable ability, eminent in the medical profession, and possessed of much general knowledge.

As a minister of the gospel he spoke forcibly, but not eloquently; his manner was grave and dignified, and the matter of his discourses was to me very edifying. In conversation he was agreeable and instructive. After he retired from the practice of medicine, he lived in the country, not far from my father's residence, and I visited him frequently. Although he was an aged man and I very young, he seemed pleased to have my company, and I enjoyed very much his instructive conversation.

About this period of my life, being of an ardent and active temperament, and desirous of doing some good, I was for some time connected with a Presbyterian Sabbath-school, and went on First-day mornings, to their meeting-house, to assist in teaching the poor. When the duties of the school were over I generally left, in order to attend our own meeting. I do not remember how long this was continued, but at length, becoming dissatisfied with some of the doctrinal views inculcated in the hymns that were sung by the pupils, I withdrew from the school. Soon afterwards, being joined by a number of young Friends, we established a First-day school for colored children, which met in the second story of our meeting-house. It was attended by a large number, and I derived great satisfaction from our labors on behalf of that much-neglected people.

My mind was deeply interested in the momentous concerns of religion. I read the Bible diligently, and sought for Divine assistance in meditation and prayer; but unhappily I did not always watch sufficiently against temptation, and was often brought under condemnation for sin. In this condition I could adopt the language of the apostle, expressive of a state he at one time experienced: "I delight in the law of God after the inward man, but I see another law in my members, warring against the law of my mind and bringing me into captivity to the law of sin which is in my members. Oh! wretched man that I am! who shall deliver me from the body of this death?" This conflict I had to pass through, and it was not until after many years of vicissitude, sometimes rejoicing for victory achieved, at others mourning for defeat, that I was able to say, in humble thankfulness to the Author of all good, "The law of the spirit of life in Christ Jesus hath made me free from the

law of sin and death." From the memorandums made during this period, the following passages are taken:—

"8th month, 1824.—About this time my condemnation for sin increased to such a degree, that I was almost driven to despair, and sometimes doubted whether there was any hope of salvation left for me. Then, and not till then, did I give up my will unreservedly to God, who, in his unspeakable mercy, granted me consolation and help. From this time I hope, through his love and power, to date my conversion.

Grant me once more, Almighty Lord,
To supplicate thy throne of grace;
Withdraw not yet thy precious word
From me; oh! hide not now thy face.

My foes encompass me around,
On every side their arrows fly;
Heal, heal, O Lord, this deadly wound,—
Immanuel save me, or I die!

'Tis all in vain I arm my heart
With firm resolves to shun the snare—
The tempter comes with subtle art,
Corrupts the guard, and enters there.

Thy temple, Lord, have they defiled,
Thine altars have they broken down,
The place where once thy beauty smiled
Now seems o'erclouded with thy frown.

Once more wilt thou, my Saviour, deign
To bless me with thy smile benign;
Oh! wilt thou yet consent to reign
Within a heart so frail as mine?

I feel the burden of my sin,
Abhor the masters I have served;
Thine eye hath all mine anguish seen,
And all my bitter tears observed.

Oh! fix within my heart thy throne,
From sin's hard bondage set me free;
I'll place my trust in Thee alone,
And all my soul devote to Thee.

"8th mo. 13th, 1824.—How often have I had to admire the tender mercies of my Saviour. Thou art ever blessed, O Lord, and they only are blessed who live in thee. Thou art the source of life and joy, and they are lifeless and wretched who are separated from thee. Oh! may I continue to love thee more and more, as I see thy increasing beauty. My heart is, I trust, absolutely resigned to thee now, and I feel that the enemy can never be subdued while there is a disposition to keep back aught of the obedience thou requirest."

CHAPTER III.

Attends a Methodist class-meeting with William Lamphier—Reflections thereon—Receives a prize for his poem "The Country School-House"—Correspondence with George P. Morris—Becomes a contributor to the New York Mirror—Religious controversy in the Society of Friends—A sermon by Margaret Judge—Death of Rachel Ellicott—Poem on Affliction.

1824–'25.

Among my intimate friends, about the time I arrived at manhood, and for some years afterwards, was William Lamphier, a local preacher among the Methodists, and a devoted Christian. He had, some years before, been my teacher in the French language; we were fellow-members of a scientific association, and a similarity of tastes and feelings caused us to enjoy each other's society, although he was many years my senior.

In the summer of 1824, there was a religious revival among the Methodists in Alexandria, and my friend Lamphier, being a class-leader, invited me to attend his class. I accepted his invitation, and attended once. Each member of the class was invited to give in his experience since the last meeting, and I think most of them complied. Some of them offered vocal supplication, and there was among them a manifestation of much zeal, which I thought proceeded from a real desire to lead a holy life. The tenderness and earnestness which appeared to prevail, had an animating influence upon my mind. I came away rejoicing in the belief that there are more good people in the world than we are aware of, and I have ever felt disposed, when I find such, to embrace them as brethren and sisters in Christ.

The zeal and activity of the Methodists were very congenial to the natural ardor of my disposition; but I came away from that meeting without any inclination to join them, for I was thoroughly satisfied that the principles of Friends approached more nearly than any others to the Christian standard.

The Methodists are among the most zealous, proselyting sects of our age. I think the religious exercises they engage in are sometimes too much in the will and activity of the creature. They do not always wait sufficiently for that "unction from the Holy One" which alone can enable us to worship aright; for it appears to me, that to talk habitually of religion, and to engage in devotional exercises without some preparation of heart and sense of duty, is calculated to diminish our strength and impair our spiritual vision.

On the other hand there is, among many sincere-hearted Friends, a "withholding more than is meet, which tendeth

to poverty." We should not be ashamed or afraid to express our religious convictions, on proper occasions and in a becoming manner. If our hearts are really deeply interested in the cause of truth, it is reasonable to suppose that in social intercourse with our friends, we must at times, be led to speak of those feelings and aspirations which occupy a prominent place, if not the first place, in our affections. It is especially incumbent upon parents to embrace every suitable opportunity to instruct their children in the great truths of Christianity, and to lead them, both by example and precept, to seek for those enduring riches which are the inheritance of all who are born of the Spirit, and thus become the children of God.

In the Autumn of 1824, I had, after many vicissitudes of joy and grief, attained to some degree of stability and peace of mind, through the continued mercy of my Heavenly Father. It was then that a trial of faith and obedience was permitted to assail me, by a successful literary effort, which seemed to open a prospect of my youthful dreams being realized. The following memorandum, made at the time, describes the state of my feelings:—

"9th mo. 13th.—During the last week my mind has been variously affected, sometimes full of love, tenderness and joy, and at others feeling but little sense of comfort; yet, through Divine mercy, I have been generally watchful and, I hope, have made a little progress. At one time, being moved by an impulse of Divine love to a charitable action, I was greatly blessed in the performance of it, to my own admiration of the Divine goodness and unspeakable rejoicing. Let me, then, in remembrance of the Lord's kindness towards me, both spiritually and temporally, withhold nothing that he requires of me, but gladly give up all to his service, who has given all that I possess. There is a

satisfaction in doing the Divine will that surpasses all other enjoyments, and I hope I shall never again be willing to feed upon the "husks," but wait patiently in my Father's house, who has enough and to spare, and is a bountiful rewarder of them that diligently seek him.

"Some months ago there were some literary prizes offered in New York, and my love of fame induced me to offer two essays for them. On Third day last, my poem entitled "The Country School-House" came to hand, published as the prize poem, with an invitation from George P. Morris, editor of the New York Mirror, to send more essays. This information, which at a former period would have been so flattering, through the gracious dealings of the Lord and the manifestation of his love, was received without much rejoicing; nay, it even caused bitterness of grief to think how my heart had been devoted to those things which I now see are but dross and tinsel, compared with the riches of heavenly love. The moral essay, in verse, which I have on hand, I do not feel at liberty to send until (through Divine assistance) I shall have completely conquered the love of applause.

"I have written an essay, in prose, on the love of fame, which I hope will do good, and feel at liberty to send it, as it shows, in part, my reasons for not sending the others."

The prose essay alluded to in the foregoing extract was published in the New York Mirror; and afterwards I sent to the editor of that paper, George P. Morris, a number of essays, in prose and verse, which were published.

A correspondence took place between the editor and myself, and afterwards a personal acquaintance was formed. For some years I sent him occasional contributions; but a large portion of the paper being occupied with tales and other light reading, my interest in it gradually declined, and I ceased to be a contributor.

About this time my feelings were deeply interested, and sometimes grieved, by the religious controversy then going on in the Society of Friends. The doctrinal views of Elias Hicks were strenuously opposed by several ministers from England, and by many ministers and elders of our Society in this country, who charged him with a denial of the fundamental doctrines of Christianity. On the other hand, his numerous friends contended that he preached the gospel in purity and exemplified it by a holy life.

During several years the meetings of Friends were distracted by this controversy; many pamphlets and other publications were issued on both sides; it was the frequent topic of conversation, and in the heat of discussion, party zeal was more apparent than Christian charity.

The two most prominent ministers of our meeting, Edward Stabler and Dr. E. C. Dick, did not agree in sentiment concerning the doctrinal points at issue; the former being satisfied with the views of Elias Hicks, and the latter opposed to them.

The following memorandums, made at the time, express my own feelings and impressions:—

"1824, 9th mo. 20th.—Yesterday morning was a time of trial and deep distress. Our ancient friend E. C. Dick delivered, in our meeting for worship, a testimony which I scarcely know how to record, though I believe it will be right to preserve the remembrance of it.

"He stated the pain it gave him and the condemnation he felt at a former meeting, for not standing up and testifying to the Divinity of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, as manifested in the flesh personally on earth, crucified by the Jews, received up into Heaven, and seated on the right hand of God; who is the only Saviour and Mediator between God and man; through whose death we have

received the remission of sins, and through whose spirit we are raised up into life eternal, and made living members of his Church.

"He seemed greatly to fear the progress amongst us of those Unitarian doctrines which attribute to Christ no further excellency than that of being a good man, and the first-born among the sons of God, and assume that all, by obedience to the Divine light, may become equal with Christ. 'But,' said he, 'Christ, after his resurrection, told his disciples, "All power is given unto me in Heaven and in earth;" the Scripture also says he is set down on the right hand of God, and will reign until all his enemies are subjected unto him, and then he will come and judge all nations; his elect (or those who have served him) will meet him in the air; the rest he will condemn, and he will create new heaven and a new earth for the righteous to dwell in with him.'

"He seemed evidently to allude to a friend in our meeting (calling him a brother whom he greatly esteemed), as preaching a different doctrine, and making Saviours of all the Christian graces; whereas there is but one Saviour, 'the man Christ Jesus.' He also alluded to a Friend or Friends in the North as denying the Lord that bought them, and described this belief as an ignus-fatuus that had misled many, as it was predicted by Christ should be the case in the latter days.

"My mind was greatly bowed with grief under this discourse, as there is evidently a difference of belief between two ministers who are the foremost in our meeting, and the leaders of the flock. From both I have derived spiritual benefit, but more especially from him who delivered the testimony as above stated, whose ministry has of late been particularly blessed to me. The doc-

trines he preaches are, I believe, the true doctrines of Christ and his apostles; yet the public mannner in which the testimony was delivered, in direct and pointed opposition to a brother minister (who has been longer in the church), is, I fear, an infringement of the good order of the gospel, and of the discipline which should prevail in the church. For my own part, my desire is that we may follow neither Paul nor Apollos, but wait upon Christ, and, searching the Scriptures diligently, depend upon him who is the Author and Finisher of our faith, for the interpretation of the mysteries they treat of. My constant prayer has been that the Lord would shine in the hearts of all, convincing those who err, confirming those who are right, and stirring up the lukewarm to a more lively faith. Oh, that He would be with us, to preserve us from contention, and enable us, with meekness and love, to bear with one another! 'Spare thy people, O Lord! and give not thine heritage to reproach.'

"9th mo. 28th, 1824.—Oh, let me praise the Lord for his unspeakable mercy towards me. I have every day occasion to bless his holy name, and to thank him that he has called me out of the dark path of my own will, into obedience to his gracious commands. Thou, O Lord, dost bless those, who love and obey Thee, with the sweet savor of thy spirit and the pure delight of thy communion, which consists not in elementary types, but in the reality of thy presence and the endearing sense of thy love. Be pleased still to be with me through life, and may my path be as the path of the just, a shining light, brighter and brighter unto the perfect day. Who is like unto the Lord in glory and strength; for at his word the enemy was struck with confusion. Who is like unto him in mercy; for he hath heard the prayer of the poor and

needy when there was none to help; he hath scattered every foe, and spoken peace to my soul? Even the hours of his transient absence, though dark and gloomy, are made, through his mercy, the messengers of his love. The soul that has enjoyed his presence may forget the value of the blessing; but when this is withdrawn for a season, it induces a careful watchfulness and diligent search into the heart, an humble dependence upon his Almighty arm, and prepares again to receive him with thankfulness and joy."

For some time after this I was preserved in watchfulfulness and peace of mind; but not without suffering and solicitude, on account of the unhappy difference of sentiment existing between the ministers of our meeting. I visited E. C. Dick, and had a free conference with him concerning his religious views. He expressed his belief that Christ came to offer up his body as a propitiation for the sins of the whole world, that through faith in his blood shed for us, we might have remission of sins, and through his spirit we might be raised up into newness of life, and rendered perfect through the measure of the spirit given unto us by him, in whom dwelt the fulness of the Godhead bodily.

Soon afterwards I visited two of the elders of our meeting, to confer with them on the same subject. I found they placed far less reliance than E. C. Dick, upon the sufferings and death of Christ. They relied on the spirit of Christ as the saving power, and they referred me to the "more sure word of prophecy," as a light shining in the heart more certain than the Scriptures. I came away from this interview much discouraged and burdened with grief, which continued nearly all night, and deprived me of my accustomed rest. Next morning the gloom con-

tinued, but I was enabled to find some relief in prayer. One of the elders, my dear old friend George Drinker, called in, to whom I stated that, if I had said anything they considered disrespectful in our interview the evening before, I wished to be informed of it, in order that I might make reparation, if necessary; for I was not above reproof. He replied that I had said nothing improper, but "very far from it," and he expressed a hope that we might all live in unity and love, and all come to the knowledge of the Truth at last. I then felt a sweet flow of Divine love, which melted my heart and gave rise to a flow of tears. I felt that I could then embrace them all in perfect love, and I was enabled to pray that we might all seek the truth and find it.

After these interviews, I came to the conclusion that it would be my duty to say little on the subject to any one, but to wait and depend on Him "who shutteth and no man can open, and who openeth and no man can shut;" who has the key of David, even Christ Jesus our Lord.

During several years, while that religious controversy was agitating the Society of Friends, we were visited by a number of ministering Friends from England, among whom were Anna Braithwaite and William Forster. Their religious services deeply interested me, and I thought they were instrumental in promoting my spiritual welfare. My doctrinal views, at that time, were similar to theirs; but I was so well assured that Edward Stabler and other ministers, whose sentiments on some points differed from theirs, were good Christians, that I did not suffer myself to fall under the dominion of that censorious, uncharitable spirit which was then laying waste our religious Society. The doctrines I then held were those called Orthodox, but I could not endure the spirit of bitterness and party zeal by which those doctrines were too often accompanied.

My feelings were thus expressed in an entry dated 12th mo. 9th, 1824:—

"Yesterday I was blessed with the sweet communion of the Lord, and partook with thankfulness of the bread of life. But through unwatchfulness, this morning, I was again brought under condemnation, in which state I went to meeting, and sat for some time in a state of insensibility as to spiritual things. At length our dear friend Edward Stabler arose, in the power of a living ministry, and through the co-operation of the spirit of Divine love in my heart, poured in the oil and the wine. He taught us that every dispensation of the Almighty was for our good, and that He has only commanded us to do good and to avoid evil because it is for our present and eternal interest to do so; 'for the work of righteousness is peace, and the effect thereof quietness and assurance forever.' It is a great mercy that He will not suffer us to enter into the garden of Eden (or enjoyment) while in a corrupt or guilty state, lest we partake of the tree of life and live forever in that state. Oh! let me submit to the sword of the spirit, which will destroy the evil, and enable me to enter into the Paradise of God."

Near the close of the year 1824, being on a visit at the house of my friend Benjamin Hallowell, in Alexandria, on First-day evening, I participated in a religious opportunity in which, after a season of silent waiting upon God, the gospel was preached by Margaret Judge, a minister of our Society, afterwards known extensively as Margaret Brown. Benjamin and Margaret (his wife) were addressed in the language of encouragement, and particularly the former, who was reminded of his trials and deliverances, in which he had found the love of God manifested towards him; and he was assured that "his feet would be anointed to

tread upon the high places of the earth." She then addressed me in language not less consoling, stating that I had been with Jesus in the garden,—that my tears shed before him were bottled up in remembrance; and she concluded by assuring me that, if I remained faithful, "He would cause me to shine as a bright star in the firmament of his glory."

I was humbled and contrited under her communication, which appeared to me to be attended with unction from on high.

On the 22d of the 4th month, 1825, my dear friend and step-sister Rachel Ellicott, aged 21 years 16 days, closed her mortal career, to rise, I trust, in a purer and happier realm. The event had been for a long time expected, and we were in some degree resigned to the loss, but still the stroke was severe. She was calm and resigned to the will of her Divine Master, in whom her confidence was placed. About thirty-six hours before her death, when she supposed her end was near, I was sent for to see her. She received me most affectionately, and said she felt calm and peaceful, and hoped she should not be alarmed when the awful time came. After a while a little cloud of doubting came over her mind, when the Comforter seemed to have left her for a season, and she was apprehensive she had not been sufficiently earnest in the great work of salvation. I told her that Christ would never leave his disciples entirely, though he sometimes hid his presence from them for a season, for a trial of their patience. She appeared attentive to the remark, and when Dr. Dick, whom she had sent for, came in soon after, she asked him, "Does our kind Master ever leave us for awhile, to try our patience?" He replied that it was frequently the case with even the holiest men, and he related some instances within his own observation, with many passages of Scripture, to relieve and comfort her.

After awhile she said, "Now, Doctor, let me commune with my own heart." He ceased, and she seemed engaged in supplication, after which the peace and serenity returned, and continued, I believe, to the end.

The next morning I conversed with her again on the state of her feelings and the prospect of death, when she looked forward to the solemn event with calm resignation to the Divine will. She suffered severe pain until the following morning, when she sent for Dr. Dick, and inquired if the time of her release was not at hand, and might not be expected in an hour or two. He thought not so soon, but supposed the pain would soon be alleviated. She lived only about one hour from that time, being quite calm and serene, then she remarked, "I am going," and expired without a struggle.

Thus passed away, from earth to Heaven, a pure and lovely being, who had once been the object of my ardent attachment and sanguine hopes, but whose lingering illness had sobered and chastened my feelings towards her, until I regarded her with a brotherly affection and Christian sympathy. To her were addressed the following lines, written during her illness:—

AFFLICTION.

Though long upon the willow-tree has hung
My harp,—or only in the lonely hours
Of solitude been swept by sorrow's hand,—
Fain would I bring, dear sister, to thine ear,
Some soothing lay to cheer th' afflictive hour.
And shall I sing the joy affliction brings,
How it becomes the messenger of Heaven
To call us from our earthly loves and cares,
And fix our thoughts on purer things above?
Oh! I have felt how gently it unclasps
The tendrils that we twine around those weeds

Of earth,—which were too weak for our support;
And how it gives a surer, stronger stay,
To lift dependent man above the dust,
In the bright sunshine of eternal love;
And when the tempest rages, to uphold
The trembling soul. Thou, too, hast felt these things;
Thou hast, I trust, found Him, of whom 'tis said
That "Moses and the prophets spake,"—himself
While here on earth, a life of sorrow led;
And is it strange that they whom He designs
To reign with him, should share his sufferings too?
"He chasteneth whom He loveth,"—let us then,
Dear sister, raise to Him the incense pure
Of gratitude, for all his favors past;
Even for afflictions,—which like clouds and rain,
Obscure awhile the brightness of our sky,—
But are the means appointed to bring forth
The tender plant, and to sustain its life.
Yet are there times, even in the darkest days,
When light shines thro' the broken clouds, and brings
Before the mental eye, that heavenly bow,
Which gives the promise of a purer sky,
Where Truth celestial shall unclouded shine,
And love and mercy reign forever more.

CHAPTER IV.

Co-partnership with Dr. Bond—Marriage—Bridal tour—Poem upon Lake George—Labors for the Colored people—Formation of a Benevolent Society—Joins a Colonization Society—Petition to Congress for the Abolition of Slavery in the District of Columbia—Illness and visit to the Red Sulphur Springs—Poem.

1825 to 1829.

In the spring of the year 1825, I entered into co-partnership with my friend Thomas M. Bond, and we opened a store in Alexandria in the Apothecary business. He had

been engaged in that line of business and was well instructed in it, but I had no knowledge of it. It was therefore arranged that he should have charge of it, and that I should retain my place as clerk for my uncle Phineas Janney. This co-partnership continued only about a year, when we sold out our stock, and my partner, having studied medicine, went to college in order to prepare himself for a physician.

During the summer of the same year, on my recovery from sickness, the following memorandum was made:—

"8th mo. 3d. Thou art merciful Oh Lord in all thy dispensations; I thank Thee for this slight affliction which has in some measure awakened me from the torpor into which I had fallen. Nothing short of entire resignation to thy will and continual watchfulness over myself, will save me from sin and effect the great work of regeneration without which no man can see the Lord."

On the 9th day of the 3d month 1826, I was married in Friends' meeting house in Alexandria, to Elizabeth, daughter of John and Elizabeth Janney. Her parents had been residents of Alexandria, but were both deceased, and she lived with her stepmother Ann Janney. My wife and I were distantly related; our grandfathers being first cousins. We had known and esteemed each other for many years, and our friendship gradually ripened into a warmer and more tender affection, which being sanctioned and confirmed by the holy rite of matrimony, has resulted in a union that I regard as the greatest of all my temporal blessings. In prosperity and adversity she has been a safe counsellor, a sympathizing companion and a helpmeet steadfast in love and devotion.

Soon after our marriage we went on a tour to the Falls of Niagara, thence to Montreal and Quebec, returning by way of Lake Champlain and through several of the New England states. It was a season of unalloyed enjoyment.

The following lines written at Lake George express some of the feelings experienced during that excursion.

LAKE GEORGE.

Sweet, peaceful Lake! how would I love to glide
At morn and eve upon thy crystal tide;
Push the light skiff along thy silent shore,
Where rocks and verdant woods are hanging o'er;
Among the islands on thy bosom rove,
In shady nook or cool sequester'd grove;
Or seek some cave beneath yon towering hill,
Where mossy rocks the crystal stream distil.
But not thro scenes like these, alone, I'd stray,—
One dear companion still should cheer my way;
Her brightening eye should on these beauties gaze
Her raptured tongue should dwell upon their praise;
Meanwhile the stream of life would glide away,
Pure as thy waters, and serene as they.
Oh! I have watch'd with rapture lighted eye
The earliest dawn that ting'd yon orient sky,—
Seen the blue mists around these mountains roll'd,
Their graceful outlines ting'd with burnish'd gold,
Till from yon cliffs that o'er the waters frown,
The sun, uprisen pour'd his radiance down;
Chas'd by his light, the sombre shades withdrew,
The scattered clouds in wild confusion flew,
Clear and distinct each beauteous scene became,
And all the mountain tops were fringed with flame.
Delightful Lake! how grateful is the scene,
At sultry noon among thy Islands green,
Where cool and shelter'd from the scorching ray,
The patient Angler whiles the hours away;
Leans o'er the bank, and in the crystal tide
Sees round his hook the playful fishes glide,
Till some poor victim tempted by the bait
Is drawn reluctant to his hapless fate.
When o'er yon mountain glows the setting sun,
And all the labors of the day are done,

How would I love, devoid of care, to stray
Along thy shores, and watch the closing day,
See the last lingering beam of light that gilds,
The craggy summits of yon eastern hills,
Or mark the shades of evening mantling round
Yon ancient fortress crumbling to the ground,
Where erst, the sons of men in wrathful hour,
Contended fiercely for the grasp of power.
Pure, peaceful Lake! long will my heart hold dear
The bright remembrance of the hours passed here;
Where love's bright flame and friendship's genial ray
A pleasing radiance shed around my way,
And gave a lovelier form and brighter hue
To every scene that met my wondering view.

At the time of my marriage I was engaged in mercantile business in Alexandria, and during many years a considerable share of my attention was devoted to the subject of slavery and the means of alleviating the condition of the people of color. In conjunction with other members of our religious society, and a few Methodists, I took an active part in forming and conducting an Association which was called the Benevolent Society. To rescue from the posession of the slave traders, persons illegally held in bondage and to enlighten the public mind in regard to the evils of slavery were two of the main objects we had in view. At that time the domestic slave trade was actively carried on in Alexandria, and among its victims were some who were free born, or were slaves only for a term of years. These we sometimes succeeded in rescuing by a legal process, but not unfrequently they were carried off by the traders before we received information of their captivity. On behalf of the Association I wrote a series of essays on slavery and the domestic slave trade, which were published in the year 1827 in the Alexandria Gazette, a paper that had a considerable

circulation in Virginia. The opposition to such publications in our state was not then so great as it became a few years later, and the views we promulgated adverse to slavery, were read without producing any demonstrations of violence. Slavery was then generally acknowledged to be an evil entailed upon us by former generations, which it was alleged could not be removed without much danger, and most of the slave holders maintained that the negroes when liberated must be colonized in some foreign country. I was a member of the colonization society, and then believed its purpose of removing the free people of color and liberated slaves to Africa, would be the means of promoting emancipation in the Southern States, and of planting a colony that would spread civilization and christianity in that benighted country. Subsequently I became convinced that the tendency of the scheme of colonization was to quiet the conscience of the people, lead to a false security, and put off, to a distant day the work of emancipation. It must however be admitted, that the planting of the colony of Liberia has been a blessing to the people of Africa, and we have reason to believe that great and beneficent results will flow from it. May the Author of all good, cause it to be instrumental in advancing the happiness of man by extending the Redeemer's kingdom.

About the year 1826 or 1827, our Benevolent Society in conjunction with a similar Association in Washington City got up a petition to Congress for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia. We obtained the signatures of about a thousand respectable citizens, among whom were prominent merchants and judges of the District Courts. While soliciting signatures to the petition, I remember that I called on Geo. Washington Park Custis, the step son of Gen. Washington, and the proprietor of the Arlington

estate. He treated me with civility, and admitted the evils of slavery, but declined to sign the petition. He spoke freely of the unproductiveness of slave labor, and said; "I am accounted among the richest men in Virginia, yet I seldom have a dollar." He knew that slavery was wrong in principle and disastrous to the best interests of the state, but although he made high professions of patriotism in his public orations, he made no effort or submitted to any sacrifices to remove an evil which he seemed to deplore. He did, however, follow the example of Washington by providing in his will for the liberation of his slaves. Our petition was presented to Congress, and although it seemed to have no immediate effect, it was in subsequent years, sometimes referred to in the earnest debates that took place on the subject of slavery. The following extracts from the petition will show the sentiments then entertained by many citizens of the District of Columbia. "While the laws of the United States denounce the foreign slave trade as piracy, and punish with death those who are found engaged in its perpetration, there exists in this District, the seat of the National Government, a domestic slave trade scarcely less disgraceful in its character, and even more demoralizing in its influence. For this is not like the former, carried on against a barbarous nation; its victims are reared up among the people of this country, educated in the precepts of the same religion, and imbued with similar domestic attachments. These people are without their consent torn from their homes, husband and wife are frequently separated and sold into distant parts, children are taken from their parents without regard to the ties of nature, and the most endearing bonds of affection are broken forever. Nor is this traffic confined to those who are legally slaves

for life. Some who are entitled to freedom, and many who have a limited time to serve, are sold into unconditional slavery, and owing to the defectiveness of our laws, they are generally carried out of the District before the necessary steps can be taken for their release. Nor is it only from the rapacity of slave traders that the colored race in this District are doomed to suffer. Even the laws which govern us, sanction and direct in certain cases, a procedure that we believe is unparalleled in glaring injustice by any thing at present known among the Governments of Christendom.

An instance of the operation of these laws, which occurred during the last summer we will briefly relate. A colored man who stated that he was entitled to his freedom was taken up as a runaway and lodged in the jail at Washington City. He was advertised, but no one appearing to claim him, he was *according to law* put up at public auction for the payment of his jail fees, and sold as a slave for life. He was purchased by a slave trader who was not required to give security for his remaining in the District, and he was soon after shipped at Alexandria for one of the Southern States. An attempt was made by some benevolent individuals to have the sale postponed until his claim to freedom could be investigated, but their efforts were unavailing; and thus was a human being sold into perpetual bondage at the capital of the freest government on earth without a pretence of trial or an allegation of crime.

This odious law was adopted with the old code of Maryland, from which we believe it has been expunged since this District was ceded to the General Government. The fact of its having been so recently executed shows the necessity of this subject being investigated by a power which we confidently hope will be ready to correct it.

The existence among us of a distinct class of people, who by their condition as slaves, are deprived of almost every incentive to virtue and industry, and shut out from many of the sources of light and knowledge, has an evident tendency to corrupt the morals of the people, and to dampen the spirit of enterprise by accustoming the rising generation to look with contempt upon honest labor and to depend for support too much upon the labor of others. It prevents a useful and industrious class of people from settling among us, by rendering the means of subsistence more precarious to the laboring class of whites; it diminishes the resources of the community by throwing the earnings of the poor into the coffers of the rich, thus rendering the former dependent, servile, and improvident, while the latter are tempted to become in the same proportion luxurious and prodigal. * * * "We would therefore respectfully pray that these grievances may claim the attention of your honorable body, and that a law of Congress may be enacted, declaring that all children of slaves born in the District of Columbia after the fourth of July 1828, shall be free at the age of twenty-five years; and that those laws which authorize the selling of supposed runaways for their prison fees or maintenance may be repealed. And also that laws may be enacted to prevent slaves from being removed into this District, or brought in for sale, hire or transportation, without however, preventing members of Congress, resident strangers, or travellers from bringing and taking away their domestic servants."

The enactment asked for in this petition appears very inadequate, in as much as the holding of people in bondage till they are twenty-five years of age, and then liberating them would not satisfy the demands of justice. We had to yield something to public opinion, in order to obtain

signers to our petition, and we asked for as much as we thought could possibly be obtained.

For my part, I was in favor of immediate and unconditional emancipation, and did not hesitate to say so; but knowing the prejudice against it in the minds of the people, I only asked for gradual emancipation.

In the year 1828, I entered into partnership with my brother-in-law Samuel H. Janney, to build and conduct a cotton factory at Occoquan, sixteen miles south of Alexandria.

We had a commercial house in Alexandria where I resided, but in the course of two or three years I found it expedient to remove to Occoquan. Before our removal from Alexandria I had a severe attack of bilious fever which brought me very low, and caused deep searching of heart as to my spiritual condition. After I had so far recovered as to go out and attend to business I found my health was seriously impaired; I had a troublesome cough, sometimes attended with spitting of blood and a hectic fever. In this condition I set off on horseback to visit some of the Virginia Springs in the summer of 1829, being accompanied by my father as far as Charlottesville and Monticello.

The sublime scenery through which I passed was exhilarating to my spirits, and the ride on horseback by easy stages, increased my appetite and strength.

At the Red Sulphur Spring in Monroe County, Va., I spent some weeks with very great advantage to my health. The water has the property of reducing the pulse, and increasing the appetite. It is much resorted to, by consumptive patients and many have attributed their recovery from that wasting disease to its healing virtues. From one of my letters written there to my wife I select the following

passage: "I trust my health is now restored, but I am more liable to another attack than before, and I must try to pursue a different course on my return home, but how to effect it I hardly know, as the labors of the counting house cannot be dispensed with while I remain in the business. Men of business insensibly become more and more interested in it until the whole mind is absorbed by it, and life passes on like a delirious dream of care and anxiety until we are awakened by some sudden shock which opens our eyes and changes all our views. Since I left home, I have necessarily passed a good deal of time in solitude, which during the absence of all those objects that lately engrossed my attention, has induced a train of reflections that I trust will never be forgotten."

It was then customary at most of the Virginia Springs for the boarders to live in cabins built of logs, or in small frame cottages. There was at the Red Sulphur one large hall used as a dining room which was detached from the other buildings. I had a cabin to myself; it had no glass windows, but had window shutters, a clean floor, and a comfortable bed.

I had no books to read except the New Testament, and being lonely I sometimes found agreeable employment in writing verses. Among the best of my compositions at that time was the following poem.

A NIGHT SCENE AMONG THE MOUNTAINS OF VIRGINIA.

How calm and glorious is the hour of night,
In these uncultur'd solitary wilds,
When o'er each lowly vale and lofty height,
The full-orb'd moon in cloudless lustre smiles.

Those lofty mountains with their forests green,
And craggy summits towering to the sky,

How proudly do they rise o'er all the scene,
And lift the mind from earth to muse on high.

And yon pure rivulet that pours along,
Playing and sparkling in the moonbeams clear,
How sweet the music of its vesper song,
In changeful cadence falls upon the ear.

And hark! the roar of those far-spreading woods,
Sinking or rising as the wind sweeps by;
Myriads of voices fill these solitudes
And send the notes of melody on high.

While all His works with one accord rejoice,
And pour forth praises to the Great Supreme,
Shall man, unmoved, withhold his nobler voice,
Nor glow with rapture on the glorious theme?

His bounteous goodness all creation fills,
E'en these wild woods where solitude prevails;
He sends His dews upon the untrodden hills,
And flowers he scatters o'er the lonely vales.

Scenes unfrequented by the feet of men,
Display His goodness and proclaim His might;
He feeds the wild deer in the secret glen,
And the young eagles on the craggy height.

His mighty hand the vivid lightning speeds,
And bursts the clouds that o'er the hills impend,
The mountain stream thro' distant lands He leads,
While joy and melody His steps attend.

To trace His wonders thro' each varying clime,
And all His mercies to the sons of men,
Fills the rapt soul with ecstasy sublime,
Beyond the efforts of the poets pen.

Oh! solitude, how blissful are the hours,
Among thy shades in heavenly musing past,
When nature leads us thro' her secret bowers,
And contemplation spreads the rich repast.

Among the haunts of men, the thoughtful mind
That fain would rise above the things of earth,
Finds her bold flight on every hand confin'd,
By care distracted, and reduced by mirth.

But in the deep and solemn hour of night,
The soul luxuriates in a scene like this,
From cliff to cliff she wings her daring flight,
O'er foaming cataract, or dark abyss.

Or else, uplifted o'er the things of time,
By heavenly faith from all her bonds set free,
Among the fields of ether soars sublime,
And holds communion with the Deity.

Oh! how transporting is the glorious thought,
That He, whose power upholds yon worlds above,
Is ever nigh, and ever found when sought,
To save and bless us with a Father's love.

E'en His chastisements are with mercy fraught,
And seal instruction on the attentive mind;
Driven by disease, these distant shades I sought,
And all the fruitless cares of life resign'd.

T'was then He met me, and in mercy heal'd
The raging fever that my strength depress'd;
His love paternal to my soul reveal'd
And swell'd the tide of rapture in my breast.

Then Oh! my soul, mayst thou continual turn,
To Him whose power alone can guide thy ways,
May love Divine upon thy altar burn,
And every thought and feeling speak His praise.

CHAPTER V.

Again visits Red Sulphur Springs—His health much improved—Removal to Occoquan—Visit from Daniel Quinby—He accompanies him as far as Richmond and Petersburg—Death of a little daughter—Publishes a letter on Christian doctrine—His first appearance in the ministry—Reflections upon the ministry—Indulged meeting granted at Occoquan—Writes Conversations on Religious Subjects—Joins George Truman in a religious visit to the meetings of Fairfax Quarter—Goes as companion for George Truman to visit the families of Friends of Baltimore—Visits Dunning's Creek with a Yearly Meeting committee—Attends New York Yearly Meeting.

1829–'35.

In the summer of 1830, my health not being fully restored, I again visited the Red Sulphur Springs, accompanied by my wife, my sister Thamsin, and my cousin Joseph Russell, the two latter being also in bad health. We traveled in our carriage, and had a saddle horse with us for my use.

This journey through the mountainous region of Virginia, along the Kanawha, and returning through Ohio by the Cumberland route, was very interesting, and together with the healing virtues of the Red Sulphur Springs, did much to restore my health.

In the same year I removed to Occoquan, where our cotton factory was situated, sixteen miles south of Alexandria. The nearest Friends' meeting was in Alexandria, which I attended pretty regularly once a week, and sometimes twice, going mostly on horseback, but occasionally

taking my family with me. Those frequent rides on horseback, continued for about nine years, contributed greatly to the restoration of my health; and being prompted by a sense of religious duty, were blessed in the promotion of my spiritual welfare. I often recur, in memory, to those solitary rides as seasons of religious instruction, when I was permitted to hold sweet communion with the Father of spirits.

At that time I was not fully settled in my views respecting some of the doctrines professed by Friends, and while attending diligently the meetings for worship, I took no active part in meetings for discipline.

In the autumn of the year 1830, Daniel Quinby, a minister from western New York, came to our house, and held a meeting in our village, during which I was deeply impressed with a sense of the love of God, and my spiritual vision was opened to discern more clearly the truths of the gospel of Christ. Daniel was then an old man, and though provided with a minute of concurrence from his Monthly Meeting, he was traveling alone, with a prospect of going through the Southern States to New Orleans. I felt much unity with him, and thought it my duty to go with him, for a few days, on his journey. He traveled in a vehicle called a sulky, and I went on horseback.

We had a meeting for worship at Dumfries, in which Daniel was favored to preach the gospel with acceptance. The Methodist minister residing there gave us a letter of introduction to a widow named Suttle, at Stafford court-house, which on our arrival we delivered to her, and were heartily welcomed, and invited to stay at her house. She said, "I have been expecting you; for it was made known to me this morning, while I knelt in prayer, that we should have a great meeting here to-day."

It was First-day morning, and she immediately took measures to have a meeting appointed in the court-house, and general information given. The meeting was held in the afternoon, and I thought Daniel was highly favored in the exercise of his gift. It was a solemn and impressive opportunity. Our hospitable hostess gave us, in conversation, some account of her religious experience. She said she was for a considerable time in deep distress, feeling the need of spiritual comfort, and finding no one able to help her. One day, as she stood in her porch, which fronted on the public road, she saw a man on horseback approaching, and it was impressed upon her mind that she must speak to him. When he came near, she accosted him thus:

"How are you, sir? Which way are you going?"

He answered, "I am going to and fro in the earth."

"What is your business?"

"My business is to warn sinners to flee from the wrath to come."

"Come in, sir," she said.

And when he entered, she found it was Bishop Asbury, of the Methodist Church. He was instrumental in directing her to rely upon Him who is "the Way, the Truth, and the Life," and she found peace in taking up the cross.

We continued our journey, and came to Fredericksburg, where we had, in the Methodist meeting-house, a very satisfactory meeting. The minister in charge requested Daniel to stay and hold another meeting, but he felt most easy to proceed on his way.

At Richmond and Petersburg we attended meetings, in which Daniel was favored to speak to edification and comfort. He then went on board a steamboat bound for Norfolk and Alexandria. I accompanied him on board, taking

my horse with me. The captain handed me letters from home, bringing the sad intelligence that my little daughter Ellen, aged about two years, had, during my absence, died of the croup. I left Daniel at Norfolk, and proceeded homeward to join my afflicted family without delay.

This journey was attended with salutary effects, in removing doubts from my mind, and giving me clearer views of the Christian religion, as a manifestation of Divine life and love brought forth in the soul, through faith, obedience and patience.

In the autumn of 1831, I had a conversation with an intelligent woman, a member of the Episcopal Church, in which I was led to speak in defence of the doctrines and testimonies of the Society of Friends, and soon after I wrote her a letter, explanatory of the same. This "Letter on Christian Doctrine" was soon after published, in pamphlet form, by my uncle Phineas Janney, being my first appearance in print as an advocate of religious truth.

I think it was in the year 1832, being the year the cholera prevailed in this country, that I was constrained, by a sense of duty, to express in Friends' meeting at Alexandria, on First-day, a few words in gospel ministry. I began by citing the text, "The Lord is in his holy temple; let all the earth keep silence before him;" and I proceeded to show that the human soul is the temple of God. "If any man defile God's temple, him will God destroy." I found peace of mind in the performance of this small service, and was overcome with deep emotion. Soon after meeting, my father spoke to me encouragingly, and had reason to believe that the elders of the meeting were satisfied. My offerings in the line of the ministry were generally very brief; but as I grew in experience, the gift was enlarged, and in due time my ministry was acknowledged by the Monthly Meeting.

I remember the counsel of a worthy elder, John Williams, of Waterford, to this effect: "Begin with, keep with, and quit with the life." I have always endeavored to follow this advice, very seldom, if ever, rising to speak in meeting for worship without a fervent silent prayer for Divine aid; and I have generally been careful not to extend my communications so as to be burdensome to the hearers. Sometimes I have had the subject spread out before me in advance of my rising to speak, which enabled me to deliver a connected discourse; at other times only a few words or a Scripture text have been impressed on my mind, with such clearness as to require expression, and when I stood up to speak, more would be given. In rightly authorized ministry, I think the ideas or emotions to be expressed are from impressions made on the mind by Divine grace; the language or garb in which they are clothed may be attributed to the speaker, and will depend much on his natural or acquired endowments. The effort of a gospel minister should be, while waiting on God in a religious meeting, to withdraw his thoughts from all worldly concerns, watching unto prayer; and when his mind is impressed with a subject and moved to speak, he should wait until he feels that it is the right time; then he should express what he has to say in simplicity of language, adapted to the comprehension of all, seeking no ornament of style, going directly to the point, and relying not on his own powers of persuasion, but on the gift of God, the witness for truth in the hearts of the audience.

During the latter part of my residence at Occoquan, the Monthly Meeting of Friends at Alexandria, at my request, granted us the privilege of holding a meeting for worship in our village once a month, and appointed a committee

to sit with us. These meetings were attended by our neighbors generally, and were mostly seasons of Divine favor.

In the 12th month, 1833, I wrote to my friends Philip E. Thomas and Benjamin P. Moore, of Baltimore, as follows:—

"My mind has been impressed for some time with a belief that it would be right to make more generally known, through the medium of the press, the religious sentiments entertained by the Society of Friends, and especially those views that have an immediate bearing upon the practical duties of life. I believe they are founded upon the immutable basis of truth, and that they will ultimately prevail, when they become more generally understood. But I have felt the importance and delicacy of the task of writing the views entertained by a numerous body of people, especially when I consider that there may be a diversity of sentiment among us on some points, without impairing the harmony and love which I trust generally prevail. Therefore I have concluded not to attempt to state any views as those of the Society of Friends, but to write them in my own name, and if they should meet the approbation of my friends, to let them be published, and hold myself alone responsible for their correctness."

"Accordingly I wrote the two numbers now before the meeting, and after submitting them to several judicious friends in Alexandria and Baltimore, I was advised to offer them to John Comly, of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, for his "Miscellany," which I did. He examined them, and advised their being published, but as they did not come within the plan of his work, he laid them before the book committee of their Representative Committee, by whom they were also approved; but they thought best to publish them with the name of the author, and they did not

feel at liberty to do so without the consent of our Meeting for Sufferings, as I am a member of Baltimore Yearly Meeting."

"I have therefore concluded to lay them before that meeting, and to ask leave to have them published, not wishing to throw any responsibility or expense upon the meeting; but if Friends are willing, I will take all the responsibility on myself. I have other matter in view, which I am willing to have published in the same way, and some of my friends encourage me to proceed, believing that a spirit of inquiry in regard to these subjects now prevails in many places, which renders the present time peculiarly favorable for gaining the public attention. If the meeting should think best, under these circumstances, to appoint or continue a committee to examine the next number, which is nearly ready, I will submit it to them for examination. I do not wish to publish, even my own sentiments on these important subjects, without consulting some judicious friends."

I remain your affectionate friend,

SAMUEL M. JANNEY."

The work mentioned in the foregoing letter bears the title of "Conversations on Religious Subjects between a Father and his two Sons." The Meeting for Sufferings (now called the Representative Committee) of Baltimore Yearly Meeting, found no fault with that part of the work submitted to it, but declined to advise its publication; nor did it interpose any objection to its being published by others.

When John Comly was informed of this result, he laid the subject before the Representative Committee of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, and I was invited to sit with the

Book Committee during their examination of the work. The committee was composed of remarkably intelligent, thoughtful men, and I well remember how deeply interesting were some of the discussions that took place on various points of Christian doctrine. Very little change was made in the manuscript, and none but such as I was perfectly willing to adopt.

The work was published in Philadelphia in the year 1835, and so far as I was informed, gave general satisfaction to the members of our Religious Society. When the first edition was exhausted, a second was published by T. E. Chapman, a third by John Comly, and a fourth by T. E. Zell, who caused the work to be stereotyped.

In the 11th month, 1833, my friend George Truman, of Philadelphia, a minister highly esteemed, was engaged in a religious visit to the meetings of Friends within the limits of our Quarterly Meeting, and I felt it my duty to join him in the service. While thus engaged, I wrote to my wife as follows:—

"Our dear friend George has, I think, been highly favored in his religious services, and so far as I know, has given general satisfaction. I have sometimes felt it my duty to bear testimony to the Truth in a few words, which has been attended with the sweet reward of peace to my own mind. The first meeting we attended together since we left Alexandria, I had a subject opened to my mind, in the early part of the meeting, which appeared to be intended for the instruction of the meeting, but I knew the expectations of the people were fixed upon George, and I endeavored to get rid of it and reason it away, but it still remained with me, till I was obliged to rise and express it. He then took up the same subject, and carried it out very satisfactorily. After meeting, he told me not to hold

back any more, but attend to my own business, for he knew it was my duty to open the subject, and he could not proceed until I attended to my concern. Since then our minds have been baptized into sympathy through every meeting, and so frequently introduced into the same feelings and views, that I cannot but admire the leadings and teachings of the Shepherd of Israel."

In the 3d month, 1834, I joined my friend George Truman in a religious visit to the families of Friends in the city of Baltimore. In a letter to my wife I said:—

"We have visited a great many families, generally about sixteen or seventeen a day, and have mostly been favored to feel that the Master's love was with us. Some seasons of deep baptizing have been witnessed, and in a great many instances, almost every one present has been broken into tenderness. Last night we visited two families at their own request, in which there were no members of our own Society; and in many cases we have visited large families where there were but one or two of our members; but all seemed to participate in the feeling of life and tenderness of spirit. I never knew one more completely dedicated to the service of God than our friend George, and the feeling of Divine love that covers his mind seems to be felt by many, and I trust it will spread until the whole family and "household of faith" may be baptized together by one spirit into one body. There are many young persons here with whom I deeply sympathize, and hope they will submit to the forming hand of our Heavenly Father, who is preparing them for vessels in his house. It seems to be our place to hold out the hand of encouragement to such,—to counsel them to give up in entire dedication to the service of God, who requires of us the first fruits of all we possess, and the entire surrender of our wills to His

will. This is the only way to attain true peace of mind, for the yoke is made easy and the burden light to those who are entirely devoted to the service of God."

In the spring of 1835 I went to meet a committee of Friends at Dunnings' Creek, Bedford county, Pa., under an appointment of the Yearly Meeting of Baltimore, to attend the opening of a new Quarterly Meeting called Centre. As I had a prospect of appointing some meetings, I took a minute of concurrence from Alexandria Monthly Meeting, and had the very acceptable company of my friend William Stabler as companion. We went on horseback, and attended eleven meetings for worship on our way through the counties of Loudon and Frederick, in Virginia. I was then young and inexperienced in the ministry, and was often brought under deep exercise, from a sense of my insufficiency for so great a work; but my gracious Master who putteth forth his own sheep and goeth before them, was pleased to help me, so that most of the meetings were favored with life and solemnity. In one of them William Stabler spoke a few words in gospel ministry, which were accompanied with deep feeling, both in himself and others who heard them. This, I think, was the beginning of his public ministry.

After we crossed the Potomac, on our way to Bedford, we came to a village called Clear Spring. As we rode through it, I felt an impression that it would be right to stop and see if we could have a meeting there. Being strangers, we called at a store to make inquiry, and there found a venerable man, with a long white beard, whose mild countenance interested me very much. As soon as we mentioned the subject, he appeared to take an interest in it, and the storekeeper likewise.

They both agreed that it could not be held till even-

ing, on account of an auction, which would claim the attention of the people nearly all day. The storekeeper volunteered to give notice at the auction, and to obtain a place for us to meet in. The old man, whose name was Myers, sent our horses to a tavern, and asked us to his house. His family being from home, he said he could not entertain us, but wished to pay for us at the tavern, which we declined. He was a member of the society of Christian Brethren called Tunkers, and we were much interested in his conversation on religious subjects. They agree with us in bearing a testimony against war, oaths, slavery, and a stipendiary ministry. He was a minister among them, and supported himself. The Lutheran meeting-house was procured, and a large company of men assembled, but very few women. Brother Myers sat with us on a bench under the pulpit, not being willing to go into it, which was agreeable to my feelings, as it was too much decorated for us. We had a very satisfactory meeting, and the people were attentive. We proceeded on our journey to Dunnings' Creek, twelve miles beyond Bedford, and the new Quarterly Meeting was opened, a committee of the Yearly Meeting being in attendance. It was a season of religious instruction and spiritual enjoyment.

In the 5th month, 1839, with my friend Benjamin Hallowell as companion, I attended New York Yearly Meeting. From letters addressed to my wife, I select the following passages:—

"On First-day morning I went to Rose street meeting, where there was a great concourse of people, probably two thousand. After the meeting became settled, I felt a qualification for service among them, and an opening on the subject of the straight gate and the narrow way, that leads unto life, which I was enabled to unfold to the satis-

faction and peace of my own mind, and the meeting was brought into a good degree of solemnity. George Truman followed, and carried out the same views in a very interesting manner, which he said had impressed his mind before I rose. A woman Friend appeared in supplication, and the meeting closed under a covering of Divine favor.

"In the afternoon I attended Hester Street meeting—George Truman was also there and the meeting was very large, I thought I was again qualified for service and the subject of the feeding of the multitude by the Divine Master when the few loaves and fishes were blessed and broken by him, and distributed by the disciples, was brought before my mind in a lively manner, and appeared a striking figure of the way in which spiritual food ought to be received and distributed through the instrumentality of a christian ministry deriving its qualification from the head of the church and looking to Him for support. But alas! I was not sufficiently watchful or humble in the performance of this service, and after proceeding a while the life of the concern seemed to pass away and I labored without that support which is essential to enable us to do any good in His cause. I drew to a conclusion without my mind being relieved and sat down under a cloud of discouragement, fearing that I had injured the cause and given pain to Friends. After another Friend had spoken George Truman took up the same subject which I had begun, and he was enabled to treat it in such a way as relieved me in some measure and brought a good degree of solemnity over the meeting. I left the meeting in much distress and abasement of mind, but my kind friend Benjamin Hallowell told me I had said nothing which was incorrect or likely to do any harm, although he was sensible at the time that I was not getting on to satisfaction, and

he sympathized with me on the occasion. He said I was remarkably favored in the morning, and that I must expect such trying seasons which might perhaps be made the means of bringing me into that humble dependence upon God which is the most important qualification for service in the church."

"Last night I attended a large meeting of the committee on Indian concerns, and was glad to find that Friends here are deeply interested for that injured people and about to engage in labors for their relief and improvement.

5th mo. 30th. "The yearly meeting has been conducted with great propriety and good feeling. One of the changes of discipline adopted is to allow women the same privileges as men in receiving and disowning members of their own sex, and to allow them a joint action in the formation of discipline.

I think it a good change, for women are as capable of transacting church business as men, and by allowing them the privilege it will increase their usefulness."

CHAPTER VI.

Publishes a volume of Poems—Business at Occoquan proves unsuccessful—Removes to Loudon Co., Va., where he opens a Boarding School.

1839.

In the year 1839 I published a volume of poems, some of which had previously appeared in the New York Mirror. I was encouraged by my friends to believe that they had sufficient literary merit to win popular favor, and the edition of one thousand copies was disposed of readily, but there seemed to be no demand for another edition. Some

years later I wrote and published a few other poems, but gradually my taste for poetry declined and I came to the conclusion that I should succeed better in prose, which proved to be the case, as will be hereafter related.

My business as a cotton manufacturer at Occoquan proved to be unsuccessful. When my partner and I entered into it we thought we had sufficient capital to build the factory, but the cost being greater than we expected we had to go in debt to a considerable amount. In addition to this disadvantage we had no knowledge of the business and consequently were dependent upon our employés concerning whose qualifications we were not competent to judge. Without entering into a detailed account of our embarrassments and struggles, it may be sufficient to say, that all our efforts to meet our engagements having proved ineffectual, I concluded to leave Occoquan and remove to Loudon County in the year 1839 with the prospect of opening a boarding school for girls. I brought with me nothing but my household furniture, and the sum of fourteen hundred and fifty dollars belonging to my wife, being the proceeds of a farm derived from her father's estate and secured to her by marriage contract, duly recorded.

This money I invested for my wife, in a lot, and in building a house for the boarding school which we called Springdale. I obtained the assistance of an experienced and competent female teacher; our school was opened with favorable prospects, and soon became popular and moderately profitable.

It was a great relief to escape from the care and turmoil of uncongenial and unsuccessful business, and to be engaged in the instruction of youth, an employment that suited my taste and brought the reward of peace.

I was however still burdened with debts incurred while engaged with the manufacturing concern, and which I was

determined to pay as fast as my means would allow. In order that I might not err in judgment, I laid before the overseers of our meeting and a few other Friends, a statement of my affairs, and asked their advice. They approved of the course I was then pursuing in appropriating my earnings to the payment of debts, and I was encouraged by their approbation. In the course of about twenty years I paid old debts to the amount of fourteen thousand dollars, which I was enabled to accomplish—by the profits derived from commissions on several estates which I settled as executor,—by the proceeds of my literary labors,—by the rents of my wife's estate, and by the profits of the school.

In all those years of financial embarrassment and earnest effort to retrieve my affairs, I had the hearty sympathy and effective aid of my wife, who generously allowed the income from her paternal inheritance to be appropriated to the payment of my debts.

I feel thankful to the Author of all good that through His providential care and guidance I have been enabled so to live as to secure the approbation and confidence of my friends. I have observed that nearly all persons who are unsuccessful in business and involved in debt beyond their ability to pay, make mistakes and incur censure. I have doubtless erred in judgment many times, but have endeavored to do right, and am desirous to make amends as far as possible for any damage I have caused. I acknowledge that had I attended closely to the exellent advice in the Book of Discipline of our Religious Society, I should probably have been preserved from the accumulation of debts beyond my ability to pay, and thus saved from the sorrow and humiliation that attended me many years. The great object of this life being to discipline the mind and purify the heart, it is often so ordered by Divine Pro-

vidence that trials and sorrows attend us here in order to wean us from the world, and fix our affections on Heavenly things.

CHAPTER VII.

He travels in some of the counties of Virginia, on a religious visit—Death of his father.

1841–'42.

In the spring of the year 1841, accompanied by my friend Aquila Mead, I traveled in the counties of Fauquier, Culpepper, Orange, Albemarle, and Augusta, in Virginia, in order to hold religious meetings and proclaim the gospel of Christ, as far as ability might be afforded.

At Warrenton I proposed to have a meeting in the court-house, but the citizens expressing a desire for me to occupy the meeting-house, I concluded to do so, and notice was given at the Presbyterian and Methodist meetings, in the forenoon. At the time appointed a large congregation assembled, but not being accustomed to our mode of worship, they were at first rather restless. After a time of waiting upon God, I felt ability to labor among them, and endeavor to call their attention, in the first place, to the omnipresence of the Deity, citing that sublime passage from Psalm lxxxix. 7: "Whither shall I go from thy spirit," &c., showing that he is always present with us, though not always felt to be so; I then appealed to the wonders of his power, wisdom and goodness displayed in the works of creation, but observed that all these evidences of his power can never convert and purify the soul; for this, we want something more searching and more intimately present with us, and this we have granted to us in

the word of his grace, which is like a "two-edged sword, piercing even to the dividing asunder of soul and spirit, of the joints and marrow, and is a discerner of the thoughts and intents of the heart." During the latter part of the meeting much solemnity prevailed, and I trust a devotional spirit was felt by many. The Presbyterian minister was present, and invited us to attend a meeting he had appointed for the colored people, to be held at that house in the evening. We felt it right to go, as he left us at liberty to speak, in case anything should offer for their edification. The meeting was well attended by the colored people, who behaved in a becoming manner. The minister went through his usual course of singing, preaching and praying, and also called upon a Baptist to pray, who immediately complied. Being informed that I was at liberty to offer anything I had to say, and having felt my mind exercised for the good of the people, I waited awhile in silence, and then, as I felt authorized, rose and offered some views for their consideration, which were of a practical nature, and couched in as plain language as I could command. A good degree of solemnity was felt, and I was well satisfied that I had been there.

At Culpepper Court-House we had a meeting, which was satisfactory to us, and although much pressed by the people to stay and hold another meeting, we concluded to proceed onward.

In Madison Court-House we had an evening meeting, which the citizens generally attended, many of them bringing their chairs and lights with them. It proved to be a precious season of Divine favor. I began by observing that since we had been traveling through these parts, the main subject of conversation among all the people seemed to be the approaching election, which appeared to engross

their whole attention; but I found it my duty to proclaim among them an election of far more importance, in which they might themselves all become candidates for immortality. The books are now opened in which we are permitted to inscribe our names as candidates for a station among the sons and daughters of God. But in order to obtain this high honor, we must comply with the conditions of the law prescribed for our government. One of these conditions is that we must deny ourselves, take up our daily cross and follow Christ. This cross is the power of God operating on the soul, by which we may become crucified to the world and the world unto us. As we follow Christ in the regeneration, we shall become united to him and be members of his body, of his flesh and his bones, and constitute a part of that church of which Jesus Christ is the Head. We shall by this means make our calling and election sure, for the promise of election is unto the seed. "It is not unto seeds as of many, but unto thy seed, which is Christ;" therefore as many as are united to Christ by being born again of the spirit, are elect and precious, and will obtain an inheritance with the saints in light.

There was deep feeling manifested by some present, and the meeting ended well.

Next morning, while preparing to start on our way, we were informed that many of the inhabitants wished us to stay and appoint another meeting, but we felt most easy to proceed, believing that our service was accomplished among them.

At this place we became acquainted with James Carson, who had been many years a presiding elder among the Methodists. He expressed entire unity with us, and gave us a list of his friends in several places whither we were

going, advising us to call on them and say that he wished them to assist us in procuring meetings. We found afterwards that his influence helped to open the way for us.

At Orange Court-House I appointed a meeting, in which I was enabled to "labor in word and doctrine," but although there was some tenderness manifested, I fear it was confined to a few.

At Charlottesville a Methodist minister offered us the use of their meeting-house, although they intended to hold a prayer-meeting there in the evening. He said they would give that up for the sake of our meeting. I appointed one accordingly, which was tolerably well attended, and among the audience were some of the students of the University. After a time of silent waiting, I found some ability to minister to them concerning the baptism of the Holy Spirit, beginning with that sublime passage of Isaiah when he "saw the Lord high and lifted up and his train filled the temple." He cried "Woe is me, for I am a man of unclean lips, and I dwell among a people of unclean lips, for mine eyes have seen the King, the Lord of Hosts." Then flew an angel, and taking a live coal from the altar, touched his lips and said, "Now is thy iniquity taken away and thy sin purged." This is the baptism of the Holy Spirit and of fire, which can alone purify the heart from all defilement; the same baptism that Jesus Christ still administers by his spiritual appearance in the hearts of all who are willing to receive him and give up their souls without reserve to his government. The influence of this Spirit will always be seen in the good fruits produced, for it will make the followers of Christ as lights in the world, as "a city set upon a hill, that cannot be hid." The Methodist minister was in attendance, and offered the house for another meeting, but I felt no authority to appoint one at that time.

At Waynesville we had a crowded meeting in the Academy. It was a precious season, in which the baptizing power of Divine Truth was felt, and I was thankful to the Author of all good.

We arrived at Staunton on Seventh-day morning, 5th mo. 1st, and it being a time of military parade, we could not obtain a meeting until night. It was held in the Methodist meeting-house, and well attended. The subject of spiritual worship was opened to them briefly, and then the nature of the new birth, showing that it proceeds from the dominion of God being established in the soul, by which man may become a partaker of the Divine nature.

I did not feel clear of the place without further labor, and the same house being offered, I appointed another meeting to be held on First day at 11 o'clock.

It was well attended, and the principal subject treated of was the effect of the gospel dispensation, when fully submitted to, in promoting peace on earth and good will to men, destroying the enmity in the heart, thereby enabling the disciples of Christ to bear a testimony against all war and injustice, and all oppression of our fellow-men.

On First-day afternoon we came to Port Republic, and held a meeting there at night, in which I was led to set forth the nature of the new-covenant dispensation; showing that it leads out of all strife and contention, puts an end to war and bloodshed, and when fully submitted to, ends in Christian perfection, which consists in entire obedience to the law of God as manifested in the soul.

On Second-day morning we came one and a half miles to Weyer's Cave, and spent about two hours in viewing that wonderful display of Divine power.

We then traveled fifteen miles to Harrisonburg, and held a meeting at night in the Masonic Hall, which was crowded. It proved to be a good meeting, being favored with the overshadowing wing of Divine goodness.

We held one meeting in a school-house at Columbia Iron Works, and one in a private house at Winchester, after which we returned to our homes with thankful hearts.

During this short journey I passed through much religious exercise and sometimes mental suffering, but was amply rewarded with peace of mind in the assurance of Divine favor.

In the summer and autumn of this year I passed through many seasons of discouragement, in one of which I made the following memorandum, dated 11th mo. 21st, 1841:—

"To-day I went to meeting in much gloom, having for sometime past suffered great anxiety about my temporal affairs, under an apprehension that I may not be able to meet my engagements, and may thus bring reproach upon the holy cause that I have publicly espoused. Through the adorable mercy of the great Head of the Church, I have obtained some comfort and consolation, and am determined to trust Him to the end. The language of the blessed Jesus to his disciples was livingly brought before the view of my mind: 'If ye had faith as a grain of mustard seed, ye should say to this mountain, be thou removed and cast into the sea, and it should be done.' He gave me faith to pray for the removal from my mind of the burden of care that oppressed me, and it was so removed that my thoughts were centered upon Him, and the world with all its concerns was shut out from my view. The language of John the Baptist was then brought before me: 'There standeth one among you the latchet of whose shoes I am not worthy to stoop down and unloose: he shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost and with fire.' Although, like the Baptist, I felt myself unworthy to be his servant or minister, I was enabled to bear testimony to the living

presence of Him who is always with us, and is able to baptize us with the Holy Spirit, if we are only willing to submit to his government."

On the 14th of the 1st month, 1842, my father, Abijah Janney, departed this life, in the 67th year of his age. I went to his funeral in Alexandria, which was a season of deep solemnity, being attended by a large number of Friends and neighbors. His interment was on the first day of the week, and in the meeting for worship our friend William Stabler spoke, in a very feeling manner, of the loss we had sustained, and expressed his sympathy.

My father occupied the station of an Elder in the Society of Friends, and was universally beloved wherever he was known. His unblemished character, his meekness and patience, his benevolence and urbanity, made him a welcome visitor in every family of his acquaintance. He expressed his entire resignation to the Divine will, and not a murmur escaped his lips during his illness. I felt comforted in believing that, having fought the good fight and kept the faith, he has received the crown of righteousness which the Lord, the righteous Judge, will give unto all those who love his appearing.

CHAPTER VIII.

Visits some meetings within the limits of Indiana Yearly meeting—Endeavors to heal dissensions there—Writes an Epistle to Friends in the State of Ohio.

1844.

In the year 1844 I visited some of the meetings of Friends in Ohio, belonging to Indiana Yearly Meeting. My principal concern was to endeavor to heal the dissen-

sions that unhappily prevailed, and which had caused a separation in Green Plain Quarterly Meeting. The anti-slavery movement and agitation gave rise to dissension among Friends, in consequence of some members being exceedingly active in the measures pursued by the Abolitionists; while others, more conservative, were unwilling to join in the movement and were opposed to their meeting houses being opened for abolition lectures. The conservative members were sincerely opposed to slavery and usually bore their testimony against it in a quiet way, but they generally took no part in the concealment and transportation to Canada of fugitive slaves, very many of whom passed through Ohio and were helped on their way by the Abolitionists.

This difference of sentiment and action caused some solicitude for several years, and at length was brought to a crisis by a "Disclaimer" or protest issued by some of the Abolition Friends against certain expressions, condemning their proceedings uttered by a ministering Friend. This Disclaimer, being considered by the conservative class of Friends, a breach of the good order prescribed in the book of Discipline, the Representative committee of Indiana took up the case, and forwarded it to the Yearly Meeting. I inquired of one of the Friends concerned in taking up the case, whether there was any private dealing with the Disclaimers before their case was taken to the meeting. He said, that he and another Friend went to Green Plain and saw two of them who made concessions, but he thought something of a more public nature was required. There were upwards of forty Friends who signed the Dislaimer.

Indiana Yearly Meeting appointed a committee to attend Green Plain Quarterly Meeting and labor for its help and

encouragement in the truth. Their labors were unavailing, and at the following Yearly Meeting another committee was appointed who attended several of the subordinate meetings and endeavored to get an acknowledgement from them, but without success. They reported to the next Yearly Meeting that their labors were unavailing. The Yearly Meeting then directed that Green Plain Quarterly Meeting should be laid down and the members attached to Miami Quarter; and a committee was appointed to carry this decision into effect. When this committee appeared at Green Plain Quarterly Meeting in the Fall of 1843, in order to lay it down, the anti-slavery Friends composing by far the larger part of the meeting, refused to comply, alleging that it was not done in unity at the Yearly Meeting and that a Quarterly Meeting could not be laid down without its own consent. The committee then advised the few conservative Friends who concurred with the Yearly Meeting's decision, to withdraw and set up a meeting for worship and a Monthly Meeting at a private house, which they did, and attached themselves to Miami Quarterly Meeting.

The anti-slavery Friends still kept up their Monthly and Quarterly Meetings at Green Plain.

Such was the state of things among them in the spring of 1844, when accompanied by my friend Isaac Nichols, I visited those meetings. The first one we attended was Miami Quarterly Meeting, held at Waynesville, Ohio. It was a large assembly, and during the meeting for worship, I was led to open the subject of Church government and Christian discipline as taught by the Divine Master. After glancing at the history of the Church in its declension and the revival of primitive Christianity in the rise and progress of the Society of Friends, I endeavored to show

that our code of discipline was founded upon the fundamental principle of Christianity, which is the indwelling of Christ, or the Divine Power in his people, and that it places us all upon equality as to our privileges, every member being at liberty to express his views and sentiments, and the meeting being gathered under the influence of Divine love, adopts those views which meet the witness for God in every heart. It sometimes pleases the head of the Church, to open subjects to the younger members who are watchful and obedient, but whether they come from young or old, if expressed in tenderness and accompanied by the Divine unction, they usually gain the assent of all. Thus the Church may be preserved in harmony, under the controlling influence of Divine love. In the meeting for discipline, I was concerned to proceed further, in exposition of our mode of Church government, showing the advantages to be derived from meetings of ministers and elders, when held in the authority of truth. When ministers deviate from their duty, in the exercise of their gifts, through unwatchfulness or any other cause, it is the duty of the ministers and elders, to counsel them tenderly and privately, in order that their service in the Church may not be impaired. If after patient labor, they cannot be brought to a sense of their deviation, the case may then be brought before the Monthly Meeting, which is the executive branch of the Society.

When the minutes of the last Quarterly Meeting were read, it appeared that a committee appointed in the Eleventh month, to visit the Monthly Meetings, reported in the Second month ensuing, and stated in substance, that four ministers had lost their usefulness as ministers and proposed that they should no longer be considered as such.

This report was agreed to by the Quarterly Meeting,

thus cutting off the privileges of four recorded ministers, without private labor, and without any action on the part of the meeting of ministers and elders.

I requested that the rules of Discipline relating to ministers might be read, which was done, and I then pointed out the mistake made by the Quarterly Meeting, for it has no jurisdiction in such cases, until they come up by appeal from a Monthly Meeting. After a season of deep exercise, and free expression, the meeting very generally coincided with my views, and it was agreed to make a minute rescinding the decision of the last Quarterly Meeting, in relation to those ministers. The Christian spirit manifested by most of those who spoke, and the final action of the meeting, were very satisfactory and encouraging to me. During the discussion I informed them of my prospect of visiting the families of Friends at Green Plain, without distinction of parties, in order, if possible, to promote a reconciliation, and several who spoke, encouraged me to do so.

On reaching Green Plain we attended the meeting held at Abel Walker's on First-day morning, and had an appointed meeting in the afternoon in the old meeting house. In the latter, I was led to call the attention of Friends to the only foundation on which the Church can be established, which is Christ, or the revelation of Divine power in the soul, and if any man build upon this foundation, his building must be of heavenly materials, that is to say, those principles of righteousness which are "the fruits of the spirit," but if we build of earthly materials, "wood, hay or stubble," our work will be "tried by fire." The meeting was solemn, and I thought favored with a sense of the Divine presence,

During the week we visited a number of families of

Friends, engaging with them in Divine worship, and seeking counsel of the Lord. Our visits were well received, and in some families there was much tenderness of spirit.

On Seventh day a conference or convention of anti-slavery Friends was held at Green Plain meeting-house, which we attended. This meeting had been announced some months before, and was intended for consultation concerning the difficulties at Green Plain, and to consider what course should be pursued. The invitation was extended to Friends at a distance, and the object being consistent with the main purpose of our visit, we felt it our duty to attend.

After the meeting had sat in silence a considerable time, a member arose and stated the object of the conference, inviting all present to express their sentiments. Although much good feeling was manifested by most of those who spoke, it was to me a season of much painful exercise of mind. I found it my duty to tell them frankly that I disapproved of the "Disclaimer," and considered such proceedings calculated to lay waste the order and harmony of the Society, although I entirely acquitted them of any intention to produce such results. Friends are amenable to their meetings at home, and it is not proper for others at a distance to take up such cases on report, without giving the parties complained of an opportunity to be heard in their own defence. One friend acknowledged that it had been done in heat and in haste, and he regretted it. Several expressed their approbation of the spirit in which we came among them, and said they could make almost any concession to the spirit of love, but none to the spirit of domination.

I urged the necessity of submitting to the judgment of the Yearly Meeting, by laying down their Quarterly Meet-

ing; for although they thought the case a hard one, there appeared to be no other way to produce a reconciliation, and it is our duty in some cases to suffer for the promotion of harmony, and even to "lay down our lives for the brethren."

Several of them united with my views, but the general sentiment was in favor of addressing a memorial to the Yearly Meeting, stating their objections to its decision, and asking for a reconsideration. It was at last concluded to appoint a committee for this purpose, and we were requested to meet with them. I expressed my willingness to do so, but stated that I had no hope of any good being effected by such an address.

In the morning we met at Joseph A. Dugdale's, who, being one of the committee, had drawn up an address to the Yearly Meeting agreeably to what he considered the conclusion of the conference, but he was not satisfied with it, and said that his mind, after a severe struggle, had undergone a change, and he was now prepared to surrender the whole power to the Yearly Meeting by submitting to its decision. Very unexpectedly to us, the rest of the committee came into his views, and by their request he drafted another report, which they adopted. This report, addressed to the Yearly Meeting, stated in substance, that although they had continued to keep up their Quarterly Meeting in contravention of the decision recorded in the minutes of the Yearly Meeting, and that they considered it a settled axiom among Friends during the time of the separation in 1826–7, that a Quarterly Meeting could not be laid down without its own consent; yet being desirous to restore peace, they were willing to submit, by yielding up their books and papers, and laying down their meeting; and inasmuch as the "Disclaimer" has been construed into

a personal attack, they regret it, but their real object was to place themselves in their true attitude before the public in regard to the statements therein contained; and they concluded by desiring that measures might be pursued to bury the remembrance of past differences and strengthen the bond of union without impairing their Christian liberty in supporting their testimonies.

In the afternoon of First day the convention again met, and this report being presented, it was approved by some, and objected to by others; but at length it was concluded to refer it to Green Plain Quarterly Meeting, which was to be held the next day.

Feeling my mind clear, and having fully discharged my duty, I concluded to leave them and proceed on my way, after having requested a friend to inform me of the action of the Quarterly Meeting.

At Cincinnati I received a letter from him as follows, to wit:—

"After the usual business on Second day was gone through, the subject referred to was introduced and first laid before the women's meeting, by their request, who reported that they could not, at that time, unite in forwarding it to Miami Quarter in that shape, with which our side of the partition (the men's meeting) mostly united.

"Seeing that it could not pass the meeting in that shape, it was proposed to strike out that part which refers to the disclaimer, and consequently submit to the meeting being laid down, thus leaving each member at liberty as regards his connection with the Yearly Meeting, which was mostly united with; but it finally resulted in referring the whole matter to the care of a committee, who are to report in the Eighth month next. From the manifestation of feeling

evinced, it is evident that there is an increasing unwillingness to sever their connection with the Society, and from the present aspect of things I should think most likely that, in the Eighth month next, the Quarter will be laid down."

The result anticipated was not realized, the reconciliation I hoped and labored for was not effected, but I returned home with the reward of peace, feeling that I had made a sincere and earnest effort to restore harmony among Friends that I loved.

The result was a schism in that meeting, a considerable number of families resigned or were disowned, and they organized another Society under the name of Progressive Friends. Soon after my return home, I wrote "An Epistle to the Members of the Society of Friends in the State of Ohio." It was read in Ohio Yearly Meeting, held at Mount Pleasant in 1844, and being satisfactory, was printed in connection with its minutes. A copy is here subjoined.

"EPISTLE.

"DEAR FRIENDS:—Having been called, as I believe, to labor among you in the love of the gospel, I feel an engagement to lay before you, in the form of an epistle, some views that have been deeply impressed upon my mind, concerning the administration of our Discipline and the support of our testimonies. The objects of religious association are to strengthen the bonds of love, to encourage to good works, to support the weak, to comfort the mourners, to watch over one another for good, and to reclaim those who have gone out of the way. In order to attain these ends, some rules and regulations pointing out the order of proceeding are obviously necessary, and have been found conducive to the harmony and welfare of Soci-

ety. It was evidently the intention of the Divine Master that discipline should be exercised in His church, which is clearly shown by the directio ns he has given in relation to dealing with offenders: 'If thy brother shall trespass against thee, go and tell him his fault between thee and him alone: if he shall hear thee thou hast gained thy brother, but if he will not hear thee, take with thee one or two more, that in the mouth of two or three witnesses every word may be established: and if he shall neglect to hear them, tell it unto the church; but if he shall neglect to hear the church, let him be unto thee as a heathen man and a publican. Verily I say unto you, whatsoever ye shall bind on earth, shall be bound in heaven, and whatsoever ye shall loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven.' Matt. xviii. 15, 18. In the Introduction to the Discipline of the Society of Friends, this passage has been justly laid down as the rule for dealing with offenders; and I conceive that in all cases whatsoever it is imperative upon members, concerned in the exercise of discipline, to extend *private labor*, before the case of an offender is taken up by any of our meetings for discipline. The first object of Christian care, in such cases, is to reclaim and restore. It is true that the reputation of Society is an important object, but the only effectual way to preserve this, is to act under the influence of that meek and humble spirit which would induce us to stoop down, and wash the feet of those who have gone out of the way. 'If I, your Lord and Master,' said the blessed Jesus, 'have washed your feet, ye ought also to wash one another's feet.' 'Brethren, if a man be overtaken in a fault, ye which are spiritual restore such an one in the spirit of meekness, considering thyself, lest thou also be tempted. Bear ye one another's burdens, and so fulfil the law of Christ.' Gal. vi. 1. If this private labor prove

unavailing, the case must then be reported to the church, and the next question that arises is, how shall the judgment of the church be arrived at? There are cases frequently occurring in which members do not see 'eye to eye,' and therefore there will often be a diversity of sentiment; yet the church is represented as one body having many members of which Jesus Christ is the head; or as one temple composed of living stones built up 'for an habitation of God through the spirit.'

"A church thus united cannot act upon the principle of political bodies where a majority governs, and it is still more objectionable for a minority to assume the right to govern. The only way to preserve 'the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace,' is for every member in our meetings for discipline to draw nigh to the fountain of life and love in order to 'ask wisdom of God, that giveth to all men liberally and upbraideth not.' James i. 5. While waiting upon Him in this frame of mind, each member is at liberty, as way opens, to express his views with meekness, and if they proceed from the pure openings of the spirit of truth, they will meet the witness for truth in other minds, and, being responded to, will prevail over the meeting.

"Thus by abiding in patience, under a solemn covering of Divine life, the members will gradually come to see nearly alike, and those who have expressed different sentiments will submit until the clerk (who is the servant of the meeting) may be enabled to record the united judgment of the body. When discipline cannot be exercised in this manner, it is better to stand still; for if unity and love do not prevail, it is an evidence that the Spirit of Christ does not sanction our proceedings, and like the Israelites of old we should be careful not to move forward so long as the cloud rests upon the tabernacle, 'whether

it be two days, or a month, or a year.' Numb. ix. 22. We have in the Acts of the Apostles (chap. xv.) an instructive example showing that discipline was formed and thus administered in the primitive church. It appears that some of the Jews wished to impose upon the Gentile converts the rite of circumcision, and the observance of the Mosaic law, which occasioned a controversy that was referred to the church at Jerusalem. In the meeting convened to consider this matter, although there was at first a diversity of sentiments and 'much disputing,' yet when James, through the influence of the Spirit of Christ, gave a true judgment, it reached the witness for truth in other minds, and being united with by all, they were enabled to say they were assembled '*with one accord*,' and this commandment 'seems good to the Holy Ghost and to us.' It may be truly said, in relation to the judgment of the church *when thus arrived at*, 'whatsoever ye shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven, and whatsoever ye shall loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven.'

"Let us apply this to the case of dealing with offenders, which is one of the most important and responsible of all the concerns that claim the attention of the church. After private labor has been bestowed in the spirit of meekness, and the case is reported to a meeting of discipline, it becomes the duty of that body to bestow further labor by the appointment of a committee to visit the offender. Here a watchful care should be observed to appoint such as we believe are best calculated to reclaim the delinquent by going in the spirit of meekness and love. If we send such as are harsh and rigid, or who are known to be inimical to the offender, the labor of love is obstructed, and the main purpose of discipline frustrated.

"But if after patient dealing, the transgressor of the Divine law cannot be reclaimed, it becomes the solemn duty of the church to testify that he is separated from our communion, as by transgression he has separated himself from the communion of Christ. The exercise of this power involves an awful responsibility; for if it should become a practice with us to issue testimonies of disownment against persons that we cannot conscientiously say have broken the Divine law, we shall introduce weakness into the body, and may bring our testimonies into contempt.

"The Discipline established in the Society of Friends is, in my estimation, far superior to any other that I am acquainted with, and when administered in a Christian spirit, is calculated to preserve the harmony of Society and promote the cause of truth. But I believe that it was the intention of the Divine mind that society should be progressive. We are not to sit down at ease resting upon the labors of our fathers; for every generation has its own work to do in order that the testimonies of Truth may be advanced in the world. The history of our Society proves this important truth. Although George Fox and his coadjutors saw far beyond most of their cotemporaries, and were concerned to bear a faithful testimony against oaths, war, and a hireling ministry, as well as many other evils then prevailing in the world, it was reserved for another generation to advance a testimony against slavery, and the improper use of ardent spirits. When a few faithful Friends began to preach and write against these enormous evils, a considerable number of the members were in the practice of them, and there was nothing in the discipline to bring them under censure. The first laborers in this righteous cause stood almost alone with a host of prejudices arrayed against them, but they placed their confidence in the arm

of Divine power, bearing their testimony with undaunted firmness, yet in meekness and patience, until other faithful minds were convinced of the justice of their cause, and the concern spread from heart to heart, and from meeting to meeting, until the main body of the Society was prepared to adopt their views and change the discipline. But this was a slow process, for it required nearly eighty years from the time the concern on the subject of slavery was first introduced until it was finally accomplished. Behold the meekness and patience of these faithful laborers! They sowed the seed, but it was reserved for another generation to gather the fruit. Yet they received their reward, although the work was not accomplished in their day; for they had the return of peace in their own bosoms. We may here observe the beautiful adaptation of our discipline and church government to the progressive nature of man. Every member of the Society of Friends, male and female, has a right to be heard in our meetings for discipline; for in this respect we all stand upon one platform. If a member believes it his duty to propose an alteration of the discipline, he is at liberty to lay it before the Monthly Meeting, and if it receive the approbation of that meeting, it may be forwarded to the Quarterly Meeting, and from thence to the Yearly Meeting, where, if it be fully united with, it is entered on the records, and information of its adoption sent down to all the inferior meetings. It has seldom, if ever happened, that any change has been agreed to when first proposed; but if it be a right concern, it may be again and again brought forward until it takes hold upon other minds; for 'Truth is mighty and will prevail.'

"It is not to be expected that a large body of men and women should at once see the propriety of altering an instrument that has received the sanction of our venerated

ancestors. Alterations are not always amendments, and even when a real improvement is proposed, there will be found, in every religious body, a considerable number of minds who act upon the conservative principle, and cannot see the necessity for any change, when first announced, however salutary it may appear to the ardent tempers who are for pushing forward the work of reformation. It is difficult for these two classes of minds to have sufficient patience with each other; but we should always bear in mind that both of these are conducive to the welfare of society, when kept under the restraining influence of Divine love. The ardor of the one, and the calm, deliberate prudence of the other, are both essential to the advancement and safety of the body. If we compare this feature of our church government with the discipline of other religious bodies, we shall perceive its vast superiority. In all others that I am acquainted with, the clergy have an undue share in the formation and administration of discipline. We know that the tendency of power in all governments, and especially in ecclesiastical bodies, is to concentrate itself in a few hands, and the consequence has been that almost every reform, being resisted by those who had the power in their hands, has failed in the attempt, or been accomplished by means of a revolution in society. The dissentions thus produced have greatly increased the number of religious sects, and in many cases have been as stumbling-blocks in the way of honest inquirers. The unity and harmony of Society may be equally impaired by a positive determination to stand still, or an eager desire to go forward. We should, like the patriarch Jacob, endeavor to move onward and yet be willing to wait for the hindmost of the flock.

"There is no part of our religious concerns in which these considerations are more important than in supporting our righteous testimony against slavery. If, on the one hand, we are not watchful, we may fall into the dangerous error of endeavoring to palliate or excuse this system of iniquity by pleading the cause of the oppressor, instead of being as a mouth for the dumb; and if, on the other hand, we allow ourselves to become too much excited by dwelling upon the harrowing scenes of cruelty enacted in our land by those who make merchandise of the bodies and souls of men, we may be introduced into a state of feeling that will lead to rash deeds and intemperate language, unbecoming the meekness of a disciple of Christ. Where the destinies of millions of our fellow-creatures are at stake, where the highest interests of humanity are disregarded, and the most sacred rights invaded, it is difficult to restrain the feelings of indignation that swell within the breast; but I am fully persuaded that a calm, temperate, and yet decided bearing, will have the most salutary influence in promoting the great cause of universal emancipation. Our predecessors in the Society of Friends have, by their faithfulness, placed us in a situation to bear this testimony with peculiar effect in some of the slave-holding States, where the purity of their lives and their fearless devotion to the cause of truth gained for them the confidence and esteem of all.

"After liberating their slaves, and in many cases paying them for their services performed while in bondage, they felt concerned to encourage others to pursue a line of conduct which had been so conducive to their own peace and to the welfare of society. Their efforts were stimulated by active benevolence and tempered with that lamb-like spirit which 'takes its kingdom by entreaty and keeps it by lowliness of mind.'

"It was in this way that Woolman, Benezet, Mifflin, and Lindley labored in this righteous cause. They not only condemned slavery in their public discourses and in their conversations with slaveholders, but they wrote and circulated numerous publications calculated to throw light upon the subject, and they petitioned Congress and the Legislatures of the several States to obtain relief for the oppressed and freedom for the enslaved. James Pemberton, whose memoirs are published in "Comly's Miscellany," vol. 7, page 80, was another eminent laborer in the cause, and a worthy Elder in the Society.

"In the year 1774 he was among the first of those philanthropists who, as Clarkson says, 'undertook the important task of bringing those into a Society who were friendly to this cause, and who succeeded in establishing "the Pennsylvania Society for promoting the abolition of slavery, the relief of free negroes unlawfully held in bondage, and for improving the condition of the African race." He filled several important offices in the Society, and continued a member thereof until his decease.'

"This Association, and others of a kindred nature, were instrumental in promoting the abolition of slavery in some of the Northern and Middle States. A similar Society, composed of Friends and others, was instituted in Baltimore in the year 1789, and continued in existence more than thirty years, which was highly useful in protecting the free people of color, and delivering many that were illegally held in bondage. I mention these facts in order to show that, in the earlier days of our Society, the mere circumstance of Friends uniting or 'mixing' with others in benevolent or philanthropic organizations, was not considered a breach of order. The main point to be observed in such cases is, whether the objects of these

associations and their mode of action are consistent with our religious principles. It may happen that when the object itself is good, the means used to promote it are incompatible with some of our other testimonies. In such cases it would be better to bear our testimony alone and in our own way, without interfering with the action of others who may be equally sincere with ourselves.

"There are many associations in this country having for their object the abolition of slavery, some of which are of a local character, and, for aught I know, may be conducted in a manner consistent with our religious principles. But the main body of the abolitionists are now divided into two great parties, called the Liberty Party, and the American Anti-Slavery Society. The first of these is a political party seeking to elevate anti-slavery candidates to the State and Federal governments; the other relies upon moral suasion, and has recently proclaimed, at its anniversary meeting in New York, that 'the *dissolution of the Federal Union* is one of the principal objects to be aimed at as a means of abolishing slavery.' This measure I cannot sanction. The Constitution of the United States, so far as it upholds slavery, ought to be amended, but not destroyed; for if we let go our hold upon this anchor, we know not where the vessel of state may be carried by the tumultuous waves of party spirit. Anarchy and confusion may ensue, and then, when it is too late, we may have to weep over the wreck that our own hands have made.

"In the present aspect of affairs we should look well to our steps before we become active members of any political party; for I apprehend that none of them are conducted upon our principles. We profess to be the followers of a Saviour who proclaims 'liberty to the captive and the opening of the prison to them that are bound;' and

although, like him, we must render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, it should be our main purpose to use all our influence in promoting the Redeemer's kingdom and thus extending the blessings of civil and religious liberty.

"There is for us an abundant field of labor in the anti-slavery cause, without joining either of the two prominent abolition parties. The condition of the free colored people requires our sympathy and aid; the laws even of the free States are unjust and oppressive towards them; and our influence might be exerted in promoting their amelioration. There is also a vast amount of prejudice, both in the free and slave States, against emancipation without removal, which we might be instrumental in dispelling by circulating information concerning its happy effects in other countries, and especially in the British West Indies, where it is proved by experience that the abolition of slavery has been highly beneficial to both the master and the slave. By laboring in these departments we can advance the great cause without compromising any of our other testimonies; and we should at the same time be careful not to judge harshly of others who believe they are called to take an active part in societies for promoting the same object. Many who are thus engaged are actuated by pure motives and benevolent feelings; and although they follow not us, if they cast out devils in the name of Christ, we should not forbid them, 'for he that is not against us is on our part.' Mark ix. 40. I am far from believing that the cause of emancipation is retrograding; the moral influence of a large part of Christendom exerted in its favor begins to be felt, and I believe the day is not distant when the arm of Divine Providence will be displayed in the peaceful deliverance of the many thousands who are now held in bondage. An impression seems to prevail with some that the

Society of Friends, as a body, is a pro-slavery Society; and this epithet has perhaps been applied to us even by some of our own members. This is a mistake which ought to be corrected. It should be borne in mind that ours is the only religious society in *slaveholding States* that bears a testimony against slavery—the only one that, in this respect, does not bow the knee to Baal nor kiss his image.

"Our ancestors placed the light upon the candlestick, and although it has sometimes shone but dimly for want of faithful laborers to trim it, yet it has never become extinguished, but has been the means of imparting light to others as well as illuminating our own household. After having advanced so far as to amend our discipline and become clear of slaveholding among ourselves, is it not surprising that the agitation of this question should produce dissension and division among us? This state of things must proceed from a want of charity or Divine love, which is the keystone of all the Christian virtues. In some things we cannot all see alike, and the only way to secure peace and harmony is to extend that toleration to others which we desire for ourselves.

"While we keep under the influence of a truly Christian spirit, we shall feel bound to place the best construction upon the language and conduct of our brethren, although we may not unite with them in all their views nor approve of all their measures.

"We should exercise great forbearance towards those whose life and conversation show that they are actuated by a sincere desire for the promotion of human happiness. If in some things they deviate from our established order through an earnest zeal in supporting one of our most prominent testimonies, let us bear in mind that their case is

very different from those whose hearts are engrossed by the love of the world, or who transgress our discipline by acts of immorality.

"When Peter, through excessive zeal, smote off the ear of the high priest's servant, Jesus reproved him, but did not cast him off; and when, in a season of weakness, he soon after denied his Master, 'the Lord turned and looked upon him,' and that look, full of love and tenderness, so wrought upon his feelings that 'he went out and wept bitterly.'

"Oh! that the spirit of the meek and lowly Jesus might prevail in our hearts, and bear rule in our assemblies; for 'a bruised reed he shall not break, and smoking flax shall he not quench till he send forth judgment unto victory.' Matt. xii. 20.

The incident to which I have just alluded in the life of a devoted Apostle, is one among the many evidences we have that even those who have made some progress in the knowledge of Divine things are liable, if not continually watchful, to yield to temptation and fall into error. It is true that Peter had not then become fully acquainted with the spiritual nature of the Redeemer's kingdom, but it appears that long afterwards, and on another occasion, 'Paul withstood him to the face because he was to be blamed.' Gal. ii. 11. How important it is that we who stand in the station of ministers of the gospel, should be vigilant over our spirits, and that our brethren and sisters in profession should watch over us *for good*, in order to correct our faults, and not for evil in order to report them to the world. We are no less liable to error than other members who are equally devoted to the cause of truth, and in some respects have peculiar temptations from which others are exempted. One of these is found in the dispo-

sition so often manifested by weak and inexperienced minds to applaud our religious services, especially when a discourse is extended to considerable length, and conveyed in appropriate language. These novices have yet to learn that fluency of speech and beauty of expression furnish no test of gospel ministry; for although it may be conveyed in 'the words which man's wisdom teacheth,' if it be not in the demonstration of the spirit and of power,' it is utterly worthless in the Divine sight. We should remember the apostolic injunction, 'As every man hath received the gift, even so minister the same one to another as good stewards of the manifold grace of God. If any man speak, let him speak as the oracles of God; if any man minister, let him do it as of the ability which God giveth: that God in all things may be glorified.' 1 Pet. iv. 10, 11. The ministry of the gospel is a Divine gift which no man nor body of men can confer nor take away. It must be received immediately from Him who is the 'Shepherd and Bishop of souls,' and in order that it may be properly exercised, we must act in the name which signifies the power of Christ, for 'without me,' said he, 'ye can do nothing.' In order that ministers, when properly called and qualified, may be encouraged to occupy the talents entrusted to their care, and that, when they travel abroad in the service of the gospel, they may be recognized by other branches of the Society where they are personally strangers, it has been found best that the meeting to which they belong should acknowledge their gifts, after a sufficient time has been allowed to form a correct judgment. This acknowledgment or recommendation of a minister confers no pre-eminence that should elevate him in his own esteem, or excite the jealousy of others; for it was said to the disciples, 'One is your master, even Christ, and all ye

are brethren.' At an early period in the history of our Society, it became a practice to appoint two or more experienced Friends of each sex to sit with ministers; and hence originated the office of elders, which I believe also corresponds with the practice of the primitive church; for Paul and Barnabas, while in Asia Minor, ordained or appointed 'elders in every church,' and Titus was directed to do the same in every city of Crete. Acts xiv. 23; Titus i. 5.

"Paul, in addressing the elders of the church at Ephesus, said to them, 'Take heed to yourselves and to all the flock over which the Holy Ghost hath made you overseers,' (Acts xx. 28); and Peter exhorts the elders to "Feed the flock of God which is among you, taking the oversight thereof, not by constraint, but willingly; not for filthy lucre, but of a ready mind; neither as being lords over God's heritage, but being ensamples to the flock.' 1 Peter v. 2. It appears that the term 'elder' was sometimes applied to ministers, for Peter calls himself an elder; but it may be inferred that this was not always the case, for Paul says, 'Let the elders that rule well be accounted worthy of double honor, especially they who labor in word and doctrine.' 1 Tim. v. 17. I conceive that the office of an elder is to watch with parental care over the whole flock, extending a hand of help and a word of encouragement wherever it is needed. They are not only to sit with ministers, but to endeavor to sympathize with them in their religious exercises; and when they perceive that a minister, through unwatchfulness or a desire of applause, runs into an excess of words without the life and unction of the gospel, or even if he fall into a habit of delivery unsuitable to the dignity of the subject, it is their duty, in a tender and affectionate manner, to extend suitable counsel. This may also be

done by other members of the Society, male or female, who may feel it their duty; but there is an obvious propriety in this duty being especially committed to discreet, experienced minds, such as elders ought to be; for if it should become the subject of general remark, the minister's usefulness would be impaired, his feelings might be wounded, and the harmony of Society endangered. In some meetings there is a jealousy or distrust of the eldership, which I sincerely regret, because I believe it was instituted under the guidance of Divine truth, and I am not aware that any change has taken place in the state of Society which renders it unnecessary. Like all other institutions, it is liable to be abused when intrusted to improper hands, and has perhaps in some cases been made an engine of oppression; but the same may be said of the ministry itself, which although a great blessing when preserved in purity, becomes the most terrible of all scourges when it falls into the hands of a mercenary or bigoted priesthood. We are admonished by the voice of history that the greatest encroachments upon religious liberty have been made by men who professed to be ministers of the gospel; and although we have closed one of the principal avenues to corruption by withholding pecuniary compensation, yet it appears to me that the eldership should be preserved, if it is only as a check upon the power and influence of the ministry. The appointment of elders belongs to Monthly Meetings, and if unsuitable persons are chosen, the fault rests with them. The description which Paul has given of a good bishop will apply to ministers and elders, for the term bishop only means an overseer in spiritual things. He should be 'blameless, vigilant, sober, given to hospitality, apt to teach, not given to wine, no striker, not greedy of filthy lucre, but patient, no brawler, not covet-

ous, one that ruleth well his own house; not a novice; and moreover, he must have a good report of them which are without.' 1 Tim. iii. The idea of perfect equality in all things which some persons appear to entertain, is one that I believe cannot be realized in practice. According to the parable of the talents (Matt. xxv. 15), it appears that 'to one servant he gave five, to another two, and to another one, to every man according to his several ability.' These talents may represent spiritual gifts, intellectual power, or temporal goods, which are dispensed to men in various proportions according to the will of the great Giver. Our happiness depends upon the use we make of them, and the man who has one or two talents may be as fully blest in occupying them, as he who has five talents. The vessel that holds one measure, when it is entirely filled, is as unconscious of any deficiency as that which holds two or five measures.

"If we lived up to the principles we profess, the Christian church would, for all practical purposes, enjoy a community of goods, for the rich would consider themselves as stewards entrusted with the means of helping their brethren, and the gifted in spiritual things, so far from being as lords over God's heritage, would be as ensamples to the flock. If we are not prepared to carry out these principles as we are now situated, should we be any better prepared by retiring into other communities? It appears to me that the same passions and propensities which now disturb us would be manifested there. The desire of pre-eminence would actuate some, the love of ease would influence others, jealousy and detraction would sow the seeds of discord; and where we expected to find a garden of Eden, we should be introduced into a wilderness filled with thorns.

"The general aspect of Christendom at the present time

is one of deep interest to the lover of mankind. It is a season of intense mental activity. How great is the conflict of opinions? how general the desire for discussion! what a variety of new schemes are brought forward having for their ostensible object the promotion of human happiness! Although many of these schemes will end in disappointment, and many pernicious doctrines are promulgated, I am far from being discouraged at the prospect before us, for I have entire confidence in the power of truth when left free to oppose the progress of error. This state of society is far preferable to that supine indifference which rests content without improvement, and sends forth no aspirations for the relief of suffering humanity. It is cheering to observe that many of the principles and testimonies which were opened by the light of Divine truth to our faithful predecessors are now rapidly spreading in the world. There are multitudes, not in membership with us, who acknowledge and openly proclaim that war, slavery, and the use of intoxicating drinks, capital punishment, oaths, and a hireling ministry are inconsistent with Christianity and subversive of human happiness.

"Should not this consideration increase our confidence in our fundamental principle, the immediate revelation of Divine power in the human soul, as the only and all-sufficient means of salvation; and should it not induce us to cherish in our hearts a deep attachment for a Society which has been so signally blest as an instrument of good to mankind? But let us not depend upon the labors of our ancestors, like the Jews, who said, 'We have Abraham for our father,' for such a reliance will lead us into dead formality, and then our portion will be given to others more worthy than we. There can be no doubt that the sincere and pious worshippers of all religious denominations are, equally

with ourselves, the objects of Divine favor; for 'as many as are led by the spirit of God, they are the sons of God.'

"The founders of our Religious Society were a deep spiritually minded people. They did not discover the great truths they promulgated by mere discussion or a dependence upon their reasoning powers; but they read diligently the Scriptures, and were often concerned to draw nigh unto God in the spirit of prayer, waiting upon Him to know his will and experience his guidance.

"I rejoice in believing that there are among you many who earnestly desire the advancement of truth and righteousness; but I fear there is, with some, too much dwelling upon the surface, and too great a desire to seek after new things. It is true the apostle recommends that we should 'prove all things and hold fast that which is good;' but in connection with this he says, 'Pray without ceasing, and in everything give thanks; quench not the spirit, despise not prophesying, abstain from all appearance of evil.' 1 Thes. v. 17. In order to prove or examine important questions, let us ask for Divine guidance and heavenly wisdom. Although the cultivation of the mind and the acquisition of knowledge are highly commendable, as being conducive to our happiness and usefulness in society, we should ever bear in mind, that that true wisdom which enables us to fulfil all the duties of this life, and prepares us for the next, is only to be attained by communion with the witness for God in our own souls. It is justly remarked by Cowper, that

> 'Knowledge dwells
> In heads replete with thoughts of other men,
> Wisdom in minds attentive to their own.
> Knowledge is proud that he has learned so much,
> Wisdom is humble that he knows no more.'

"Finally, my dear friends, let me revive in your remembrance the exhortation of George Fox, to 'hold all your meetings in the power of God.' When we go into our meetings for discipline, as well as those for worship, we should endeavor to divest our minds of every improper bias, with a sincere desire to know and to do His will. If important questions are expected to come forward, it is highly improper to determine beforehand the course we will pursue, or to attempt, by any kind of private management, to promote our own views. Such a proceeding would be a practical denial of our fundamental doctrine, and an effectual forestalling of the operation of the Spirit. On these solemn occasions there should be an opportunity afforded for every member to speak who wishes to relieve his mind; and when we have expressed what a sense of duty requires, we should endeavor to divest ourselves of all anxiety about the result, placing our confidence in the arm of Divine power. There should be no personal reflections, nor sharp replies, but brotherly love and Divine charity should season all our communications, and thus we would be enabled to move onward harmoniously, 'endeavoring to preserve the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace.'

"With fervent desires for your preservation and prosperity, I remain your friend.

SAMUEL M. JANNEY.

Springdale, Loudoun Co., Va., 7 mo. 1st, 1844."

CHAPTER IX.

1844–'46.

He writes a series of articles upon Slavery—Letters to George Truman and Isaac T. Hopper—Letter to his uncle, Phineas Janney—Attends the Quarterly Meeting at Red Stone, in Pennsylvania—Enters into a canvass for free schools in Virginia—Goes to Richmond as delegate to an Educational Convention—Letter to a Slaveholder.

Having been for many years deeply solicitous that measures should be taken for the abolition of slavery, I concluded that I could do something for the cause by writing a series of essays showing the disastrous effects of slaveholding in my native State, and the superiority of free labor in promoting public prosperity and individual happiness.

In the 12th month, 1844, I wrote to my valued friend George Truman, of Philadelphia, as follows:—

"I am willing to labor in the cause, and being well acquainted with the temper of our citizens, and the prejudices they entertain, I think I can approach them better than a Northern man; as they are more willing to hear a Virginian than a citizen of the Northern States. In order to circulate such essays as I have in view, funds are requisite, and my circumstances are such that I cannot with propriety spare much in that way, as I am engaged in paying off old debts that will take many years of assiduous toil and frugality. My friends in this neighborhood have contributed when called upon to pay for my publications, but I fear they will feel it burdensome if called upon too often. Now the question I have to ask thee is, whether there are not many Northern Friends who would be willing to assist me with funds in this concern? It appears to me that one hundred dollars per annum for a few years expended in this way, would do more than ten times the amount expended in the North. Only let a move be made

here and responded to by the people of Western Virginia (who have already got up an anti-slavery party), and then the opposition at the North will give way. It appears to me that there will be less dissension among the Society of Friends on this question, as soon as we prove to the lukewarm that the cause is advancing. One of the best methods at present is to insert anti-slavery pieces in the Southern papers and purchase a good many extra numbers of the papers for circulation. They pass better through the post-office than tracts."

I occasionally corresponded with Isaac T. Hopper, who was extensively known as the protector of the fugitive slave, and the able advocate of universal emancipation. He was engaged many years in works of Christian charity, and to him I expressed my prospects in the following letter:

SPRINGDALE, LOUDOUN CO., VA.
12th mo. 15th, 1844.

ISAAC T. HOPPER:

"Esteemed Friend:—Thy acceptable letter of 25th ult. has been received, and the bundle of books also came to hand, for which please accept my thanks. I was sorry to hear of thy long confinement from indisposition, but hope thou art, before this, sufficiently recovered to resume thy labors in the cause of humanity. It has happened in all ages that those who make the greatest sacrifices for the oppressed are often the least rewarded by human approbation, but they have the reward of peace in their own bosoms, which is far better. When we consider how short is our pilgrimage in this state of existence, and how interminable the duration of that life which is to come, we are made willing to endure the afflictions that may be allotted to us, and consider them light in comparison with the riches of that inheritance which is reserved for the faithful servants of Christ. My interest in the cause which thou hast so much at heart continues to grow deeper and deeper, and I find it my duty at times to plead the cause of the down trodden slave in the assemblies of the people. This course brings peace to my own mind, and is, I think, satisfactory to my friends in this neighborhood; even the slaveholders who attend our meetings (which are very large), are, I think, mostly conscious that we have the

truth on our side; one of them acknowledged after meeting to-day, that it was all true. Unhappily they have long been bolstered up by a set of ministers who cry peace, peace, when there is no peace, and thus set the people at ease in their sins.

"I think public sentiment is advancing here in favor of emancipation, and am under the impression that there are many more opposed to slavery than is generally supposed, but they are afraid to avow their sentiments. There is a vast amount of prejudice to be removed before any thing effectual in the way of emancipation can be done. Public men do not generally lead in the work of reform; they only follow when their interest requires it.

"It appears to me the time has come for the discussion of slavery in Virginia. I have begun it in earnest, and believe it will be my duty to pursue it with vigor.

"In the *Alexandria Gazette* of 11th inst. thou wilt find an anti-slavery essay of mine signed 'A Virginian,' which some persons are surprised to see in that paper. I have sent a series of essays to another Virginia paper, but do not yet know their fate, and I have a Review of George Truman and John Jackson's West Indies Narrative ready for the *Baltimore Saturday Visitor*, which the editor has promised to publish, and we intend to have one thousand copies struck off in pamphlet form.

"People in the slave States are so prejudiced that few of them will read abolition tracts from the North, nor will our papers give them any useful information on the subject of slavery. It is therefore quite important, I think, to have such essays introduced into Southern papers, and if I had the means at command, I think it would be best to have a considerable number of papers containing such essays struck off on purpose for distribution. By this means we might, after awhile, gain over the editors to our side.

"What dost thou think of the question of compensation to the masters? It appears to me to present the greatest difficulty, for they have the power in their hands, and will not listen to anything else; but there is no justice in it, unless our long acquiescence in the evil has made us all so far responsible that we ought to share the expense of its removal. If the domestic slave trade were abolished, which ought to be done instantly, the price of slaves in Virginia would soon fall so low that we could perhaps satisfy the demands of the owners without much difficulty.

"Hast thou seen Calhoun's letter to Walker, our minister to France? He not only justifies slavery, but endeavors to show that the West India experiment of Great Britain has been entirely disastrous, and that they wish to get rid of its effects by bringing us into the same condition. He pretends to draw his information from *Blackwood's Magazine* for June, 1844. I have no doubt his statements are incorrect and his reasonings false, but it will be circulated all through the South without refutation, unless refuted by some one in the slave States, for the Southern papers seldom publish anything from the North against slavery.

Thy affectionate friend,

SAMUEL M. JANNEY."

(The following letter, referring to S. M. J's Review of the visit of George Truman and John Jackson to the West Indies, was written to his uncle, Phineas Janney:)

SPRINGDALE, 12th month, 1844.

DEAR UNCLE:

Thy kind letter of 18th inst. has been received. The amendments to my "Review" proposed by thee and my valued friend W. S. have been attentively considered, and nearly all of them adopted. In some instances I thought the point and vigor of the production was somewhat impaired, but I made up my mind to abide by your judgment and not to allow anything like the pride of authorship to influence my decision. If I know my own heart, my desire in this publication is to do good to both the master and the slave, by opening the eyes of the former to the wickedness of the system he is upholding, and pointing out the way in which it may be removed. In this I conceive I am more truly his friend than if I were to "keep in the quiet," or look on with indifference. My feelings and views on this subject are not of recent origin, nor are they derived, as thou seems to suppose, from those "abolitionists of the North." They have not asked me to write for them, that I recollect (except in one instance), and my pen was engaged in this cause before the present abolition societies were in existence. I have to-day been looking over a series of essays on slavery and the slave trade I wrote for the Benevolent Society of Alexandria, which were published in the Alexandria Gazette in 1827. I find in them expressions of the same character as those objected to in my

"Review," and yet those essays were approved and adopted by a society of which my father, G. D., and B. H. were members. The petition to Congress which I drew up at the same time and which was signed by a thousand respectable citizens of the District asking for the suppression of the domestic slave trade and the abolition of slavery, also contained some expressions so plain that they would, perhaps, be considered harsh by some. In fact it is difficult to speak of the system of slavery in plain terms and describe it as it is without seeming harsh to Southern ears; nor can any useful impression be made upon such a system of stupendous wrong without a plain-spoken exposition of its revolting features and ruinous consequences.

I conceive myself called to labor in this field; it appears to be as much my religious duty as any that I perform, and I look back with unfeigned satisfaction and gratitude to my Heavenly Father for having enabled me, in years that are long past, to do something, however small, for the relief of the oppressed.

When my mind afterwards became engrossed, for several years, in that disastrous business at Occoquan, I seemed to lose sight of my anti-slavery concern; but now, that I am enjoying some relief from the shackles of debt, those feelings that prompted me to labor in the cause of humanity have returned with renewed vigor, and my mental energies, after being almost paralyzed by intense anxiety and care, are beginning to expand, and require exertion.

I appreciate thy concern in relation to my school, and feel obliged for the freedom with which it is expressed. I hope never to be so weak as to be hurt with candid advice or admonition from my real friends. But I apprehend no injury has yet resulted from the amount of time occupied in these and similar essays. By rising before day in winter, and sitting up tolerably late, I have abundance of time for study and composition without interfering with school hours. My school may suffer and perhaps has suffered some by my open opposition to slavery, but when duty calls, interest must not stand in the way. All we have to do is to obey our Heavenly Father's will, and trust the consequences to Him. * * *

Thy affectionate nephew, SAMUEL M. JANNEY.

The letter I addressed to my friend George Truman was handed around among the members of our Society in Phil-

adelphia and met with a hearty response. Many of them were willing to contribute freely the funds necessary to carry out my plan, and I proceeded to write, print and circulate a number of tracts, in opposition to slavery, showing its baleful influence on morals and on the material interests of the community. Most of my essays were published first in newspapers in Virginia and Maryland, and some were afterwards printed in pamphlet form.

The series of essays that attracted most attention, and which incidentally had the most influence on my own career, was entitled "The Yankees in Fairfax County, Virginia," by a Virginian. It consisted of papers on agriculture, education, and political economy, showing the superiority of free labor over slave labor, in promoting public prosperity, and it was first published in the *Richmond Whig* with a high commendation from the editor, J. Hampden Pleasants, who was at heart an emancipationist. It was afterwards published in pamphlet form, and a copy of it falling into the hands of Samuel S. Randall, Superintendent of Public Schools in the State of New York, led him to think of coming to Virginia to reside, and ultimately led to an intimate friendship between us, which resulted much to my benefit, as I shall relate hereafter.

The following letter I wrote to my friend, George Truman, of Philadelphia.

SPRINGDALE, 2d mo. 10th, 1845.

"Dear Friend:—I have to acknowledge the receipt of thy kind letter, and can assure thee I feel grateful for the confidence reposed in me by the Friends who have subscribed for the publication of my letters against slavery. I am particularly pleased that a way has been opened for some to contribute who are not engaged in the effort now being made in this cause in the free States. It shows that Friends

who have stood aloof from that movement may nevertheless feel a warm interest in the cause, and a willingness to assist when they can see the way clear to do it. This will promote charitable feelings among us, and may prevent the spreading of that dividing and desolating spirit which has crept into some of our meetings in the Western States. I do greatly desire that brotherly love may continue, and that we all may be concerned to put the light upon the candlestick that it may be seen of all.

"If something be not done soon towards the removal of the burthens by which the poor oppressed slaves are borne down to the earth, I believe an awful retribution awaits this guilty land, and when national calamities shall come upon us, the innocent will have to suffer with the guilty. But when we examine this subject closely, I fear that few of us are entirely innocent of giving countenance in some way to a system of oppression and cruelty that has seldom been equalled in any age. Even in the free States the unhallowed scheme of annexing Texas, which would add more slave States to the Union, and consequently would increase the domestic slave trade, has found many supporters. This astonishing infatuation must arise from interested motives on the part of political leaders, whose eyes are blinded by the god of this world.

Thy affectionate friend,

SAMUEL M. JANNEY."

During the fifteen years that I kept the Springdale Boarding School, it was my practice not unfrequently to employ the time of vacation in performing journeys in the service of the gospel of Christ, being furnished by our Monthly Meeting with proper credentials to secure the attention of Friends where my lot was cast.

In the spring of the year 1845, accompanied by my friend John Smith and wife, I attended the Quarterly Meeting at Redstone and other meetings of Friends in Western Pennsylvania, and thence returning through Western Virginia, appointed meetings for Divine worship in many places. The meetings of Friends in Western Pennsylvania were small, and some of the members so

lukewarm that they seldom attended. My labors among them were well received, but I fear the impression made was not deep enough to be lasting, as the meetings have since continued to dwindle. We had two appointed meetings with the colored people in their own meeting houses. I expressed the deep interest I felt in their welfare, and told them how important it was that they should do well, and how great an influence they might exert by their good example, in promoting the liberation of their brothers and sisters, if they would exert themselves to live virtuously and bring up their children in Christian principles. A considerable number of them were from my native county; they rejoiced in meeting with us, and one old man said he had nursed me when I was a child.

In the years 1845 and '46 much interest was manifested in most parts of Virginia on the subject of education, and especially in relation to free schools. I took an active part in the movement for two reasons: first, I saw the necessity of educating the white children in order to elevate and enlighten the governing class, and secondly, I thought it would be the means of promoting the anti-slavery sentiment which was obstructed by ignorance and prejudice.

Delegates were appointed in many counties and in most of the cities of the Commonwealth, to attend an Educational Convention in Richmond. I attended as a delegate from Loudoun. The Governor, J. McDowell, presided, and the business was referred to several committees on different branches to consider and report. I was appointed on a committee of fifteen to report on Common School Education. T. Jefferson Randolph was chairman of our committee, and was understood to be in favor of a free school system. When we met he was absent, and the chair was taken by Dr. Plummer, one of the clergy of Richmond.

After a brief conversation he said in substance, "I suppose we are all willing to continue the present plan (of paying for the education of poor children), and that no change is needed." To my surprise they all assented to his views except one, who was a member of the Legislature from Wheeling. I arose and stated my objections to the *pauper* system then existing, showing its utter inefficiency, and its degrading effect in making a distinction between the rich and the poor. I advocated a system of free schools such as were in successful operation in New York and New England, and was prepared with statistics to prove my position. When I had stated my views the member from Wheeling said to me, "If you will embody your views in a report I will join you in it. I wrote a report accordingly to be signed by him and myself, and the other thirteen members of the committee reported in favor of the school system then in operation.

I had to take the lead in advocating our minority report, and after debating it a day and a half, we obtained a complete triumph and carried our point by a vote of at least three-fourths. Randolph and some others of the committee came over to our views, and the Governor who presided was also with us. The next question before the convention was a proposition for the establishment of another military school in Virginia, which we opposed and succeeded in defeating, but it was rather a close vote. The Legislature then in session, passed a law, in accordance with the recommendation of the convention, for the establishment of a Free School system in those counties where the people should determine by a vote of two-thirds to accept it.

When I came home I found the cause of popular education had gained ground. At the request of the people, I

delivered addresses in Loudoun and in two other counties, explaining its advantages, and many public meetings were held to discuss the Free School system. The school law was accepted by a popular vote in only about six counties, and our county was not one of them. Its unexpected failure in Loudoun was attributed to the influence of the slaveholders, who were generally opposed to it on the ground that they thought it was an "entering wedge for something else;"—that is, for the abolition of slavery.

There were, however, some enlightened and benevolent slaveholders who deplored the evils of slavery, and were sincerely desirous to promote the establishment of a free school system in Virginia. To one of these who co-operated with me I wrote as follows:

"I love my native State as well as any one of her citizens, but I cannot feel satisfied to see her falling into the rear of all the rest in the career of improvement. Although we have many enlightened men, it is an undeniable fact that there is a vast amount of ignorance in the State, and nothing has yet been done to remove it. We are dependent upon the North not only for many of our best teachers, but for nearly all our literature. How seldom do we hear of a book being written by a Virginian! How few scientific discoveries have we made? Nearly all the best developed intellect in this State has been devoted to law and politics, because these have been considered the roads to distinction. If the great mass of our people were educated, a part of their intellectual energies would be directed into different channels, and we might have our distinguished authors and savans as well as other States. But it is not this kind of intellectual affluence that I so much crave, as a general diffusion of those enjoyments that are derived from a moderate cultivation of mind, which might be

placed within the reach of all. If the main object of this state of existence is to develop and elevate the intellectual and moral faculties, and prepare the soul for the enjoyment of the bountiful gifts of the Creator, we have a heavy debt to answer for towards those poor creatures bond and free, who are condemned by our laws to ignorance and degradation. I do not lay the whole blame upon slaveholders, far from it. I consider the whole community that sustains the system responsible for it, and each individual who quietly acquiesces in it is implicated. In thinking of this interesting and important subject, I often say to myself: "Oh, for a Wilberforce to stand up in the councils of our State and be as a mouth for the dumb!" I have a firm persuasion that Divine Providence will, in his own good time, raise up such an instrument, and I would respectfully ask thee to consider whether thy talents have not been bestowed for some such noble purpose."

CHAPTER X.

1849–'50.

Attends Ohio Yearly Meeting—Answer to Wm. A. Smith's Defence of Slavery—The Grand Jury indicts him for it—He defends himself and is cleared.

In the Autumn of 1849 I made a religious visit to Friends in Ohio, and attended the Yearly Meeting held at Salem, and thirteen other meetings, being accompanied by my valued friend, John Smith. The Yearly Meeting was a season of painful exercise, on account of the difference of sentiment existing among Friends there in relation to the measures pursued for the abolition of slavery, and

the promotion of other reforms. The grounds of disagreement were nearly the same as those I had found existing at Green Plain, and some of those called Progressive Friends were present in the Yearly Meeting. There was much unprofitable discussion, and a spirit manifested by some which I thought was at variance with the true spirit of the Gospel. My concern while among them was to moderate the zeal of the friends of discipline, called Conservatives, to induce them to pursue a mild and conciliatory course, and to lead all to a more close reliance upon the great fundamental doctrine of Christianity—the Light of Divine Truth revealed in the soul.

Under date Sixth month, 13th, 1850, I made the following record: "I have passed through much religious exercise, and, at times, have been favored to draw nigh to the Fountain of All Good to renew my strength for the conflicts that attend me."

One cause of trial to my feelings has been the attempt on the part of some misguided and malicious persons to prosecute me for writing against the injustice of slavery.

In the Eighth month, 1849, a Southern Methodist minister, William A. Smith, President of Randolph Macon College, Virginia, delivered in the Court House, at Leesburg, a lecture professedly on education, but chiefly in defence of slavery. He took the ground that slavery is right in itself and sanctioned by the Bible.

His views being listened to by a large audience, and applauded by some, I felt that it would not be right for me to let them pass without a refutation, which I published in a Leesburg newspaper.

Soon after the Grand Jury of this County met, and presented me for publishing an article which, they said, "was calculated to incite persons of color to make insurrection

or rebellion." This false accusation being expressed in an illegal form, the Court would not bring me to trial.

At the next Quarterly Court, in the Eleventh month, the Grand Jury again took up the case, and presented me for the same essay, in which they alleged that I maintained that owners "had no right of property in their slaves."

Although I did not suppose there was much probability of the law being enforced against me, which imposes a heavy fine and imprisonment for such cases, yet I could not be insensible to the opprobrium intended by the attempt to persecute me and "cast out my name as evil." I thought much about it, and endeavored to draw nigh to Him who is mighty to save, and blessed be His name my prayers were heard and my soul comforted with His presence.

In the Third month, 1850, the time set for trial came, when I went to Court prepared to plead my own cause, but on motion of the Attorney for the Commonwealth, the case was postponed three months longer.

On the 11th of the Sixth month the case was taken up by the Court, and the Attorney for the Commonwealth made an argument to sustain the charge of the Grand Jury. I answered in a written argument, and the Attorney made another speech, to which I made an oral reply, winding up with the expression, "The longer you keep this subject before the people the more there will be of my way of thinking." The Court was composed of the magistrates of the County; most of them were slave holders. They concluded to quash the proceedings, and their chairman gave me a lecture upon the necessity of great care and caution in meddling with the delicate question of slavery. I cared little for his lecture, and proceeded, without delay, to publish my answer to the presentment under the title of "The Freedom of the Press Vindicated."

"THE FREEDOM OF THE PRESS VINDICATED.

TO THE PUBLIC.

"At the last quarterly Court in Loudoun County, Va., a presentment of the Grand Jury against Samuel M. Janney, for a publication in answer to W. A. Smith's defence of slavery, was taken up for consideration. After hearing the argument of the Attorney for the Commonwealth and S. M. Janney's answer, the Court determined to quash the proceedings.

SAMUEL M. JANNEY'S ANSWER.

"Having been summoned to appear before the Justices of the County Court of Loudoun, 'to show cause why information shall not be filed against me upon the presentment of the Grand Jury, for maintaining, in an article published in "The Washingtonian," on the 10th day of August last, *that masters have no right of property* in their slaves:' I beg leave to submit to the Court the following good and sufficient reasons why the said information should not be filed.

"*First.* I *deny the fact alleged in the presentment.* It will be found on a careful examination of the said essay, that so far from maintaining that masters have no right of property in their slaves, I have distinctly stated, in two paragraphs therein, that slaves in Virginia are property. The first of these paragraphs contains my definition of slavery, viz: 'It is based upon a principle recognized in all the slave States, and expressed in the laws of South Carolina in these words, "Slaves shall be deemed, sold, taken, reputed and adjudged in law to be *chattels personal*, in the hands of their owners," &c. Slavery, therefore, is that condition in which man is held as a chattel.' The second

of these paragraphs, towards the close of the essay, is as follows, 'A slave is to all intents and purposes a *chattel personal*, and may be taken and sold for his master's debts; he cannot acquire nor hold property; he can make no contract that his master may not annul; he cannot even contract matrimony, for there is no legal marriage for slaves.'

"Here is a distinct recognition that slaves are property, *in the legal sense of the term*, for by property is meant any thing to which a person has a legal title; and it would be absurd to maintain, that in Virginia the owners of slaves have no legal title, when we know that slavery is established by law.

"In fact this is the very strongest objection I have to the whole system of American slavery; it degrades men by regarding them as property, and not only as property, but as *chattels personal*.

"In this respect it differs from that system of feudal bondage which formerly prevailed in Europe, for the serf was attached to the soil; he could be sold *with it*, but *not without it*, and consequently the family ties were not liable to be broken at the will of the master. Perhaps it may be alleged that the quotation I introduced from the writings of John Wesley does maintain that masters have no right of property in their slaves; but I beg leave to call your attention to the language of Wesley as quoted by me. He says, 'it cannot be that either war or contract can give any man *such a property* in another as he has in his sheep and oxen.' Now we know that the owner of sheep and oxen can at any time put them to death; but a master cannot put his slave to death without being guilty of homicide or murder; consequently the law does make a distinction between property in man, and property in sheep and oxen. But if the sentiment quoted from Wesley will

bear the construction put upon it by the Grand Jury, it does not necessarily follow that I adopted it as my own; for we may quote from an author for other purposes than to corroborate our own sentiments. If the quotation from Wesley is at variance with my own expressions in relation to property in man, it cannot reasonably be imputed to me. The object I had in view in quoting from the *founder of Methodism*, while controverting the arguments of a professed Methodist minister, is sufficiently obvious: it was 'to *show what Methodism requires in relation to slavery*;' and there was a passage in the manuscript to this effect, when taken to the editor of the Washingtonian, but it was stricken out by his request, in order to spare the feelings of certain individuals.

"Having now shown that I did not maintain, as alleged in the presentment, 'that masters have no right of property in their slaves,' I deem it proper to say, in the language of George Washington, 'that it is among my first wishes to see some plan adopted by which slavery in this country may be abolished by law.'*

"Second. The statute under which this presentment was made, *when taken in connection with the Constitution of Virginia*, does not apply to this case. The Constitution says (Art. 3, sec. 11), 'The Legislature shall not pass any law abridging the freedom of speech or of the press;' and again it says, 'nor shall any man be enforced, restrained, molested, or burthened in his body or goods, or otherwise suffer on account of his religious opinions or beliefs'—that 'all men shall be free to profess, and by argument to maintain their opinions in matters of religion.'

"We must not suppose that the Legislature intended to violate this fundamental principle of the Constitution, and

* Letter to J. F. Mercer.

therefore it is reasonable to construe the statute so as not to infringe the freedom of speech or of the press, or to impair that religious liberty so solemnly guaranteed to every citizen of Virginia.

"It may be shown by reference to the Discipline of the Society of Friends (page 61), that 'as a religious society we have found it to be our indispensable duty to declare to the world our belief that slavery is wholly inconsistent with the beneficent precepts of the Christian religion. It therefore remains to be our continued concern to prohibit our members from holding in bondage our fellow-men. And at the present time we apprehend it to be incumbent on every individual deeply to consider his own particular share in this testimony. The slow progress in the emancipation of this part of the human family we lament, but nevertheless do not despair of its ultimate enlargement. And we desire that Friends may not suffer the deplorable condition of these, our enslaved fellow-beings, to lose its force upon their minds through the delay which the opposition of the interested may occasion in this work of justice and mercy, but rather be animated to consider that the longer the opposition remains, the greater is the necessity, on the side of righteousness and benevolence, for our steady perseverance in pleading their cause.'

"This extract from our discipline shows conclusively that we place our opposition to slavery on the *ground of a religious concern.* We consider it a duty, on proper occasions and in the spirit of meekness and love,* 'to open our mouths for the dumb, and to plead the cause of the poor

* The first presentment against S. M. J. for the said publication, charged him with writing an article "calculated to incite persons of color to make insurrection or rebellion," which was set aside by the court.

and needy.' Prov. xxxi. 8, 9. But never, on any occasion, has a Friend been known to 'incite slaves to make insurrection or rebellion;' for to resist oppression by physical force is contrary to our well-known peaceable principles. We believe that the triumphs of philanthrophy and Christianity cannot be achieved by coercive means, but by the gentle, persuasive spirit of the gospel, which, proceeding from the love of God, expands the heart into love for the whole human family. Nor do we feel at liberty to encourage insubordination among slaves, nor to advise or incite them to leave their masters, for this would be an improper interference with the relations established by law.

"Our concern is not to meddle with the slave, but to appeal to the master; our course is open and aboveboard; our aim is to accomplish a Christian object by Christian means.

"Now we must not suppose that the Legislature intended, by the statute referred to, to deprive us of a religious privilege solemnly guaranteed to us by the Constitution of our native State, and which has been constantly exercised by *the members of our Society from the foundation of the Government down to the present day.*

"Third. If the court shall deem that the statute under which this presentment was made does apply to this case, and it was intended for such cases, then I would respectfully maintain that, the statute being a palpable violation of the Constitution of Virginia, has not the force of law, and it is the duty of the judiciary to disregard it. The court will find a precedent for this course in the case of Peter Kemper *vs.* Mary Hawkins, recorded in 'A collection of cases decided in the General Court of Virginia.' (Philadelphia Edition, page 20.)

"In this case, which was decided in the year 1793, a statute of the Legislature was unanimously set aside on the ground that it was contrary to the Constitution of Virginia.

"Judge Roan, in giving his opinion, said:—

"'I now think that the judiciary may, and ought not only to refuse to execute a law expressly repugnant to the Constitution, but also one which is by a plain and natural construction in opposition to the fundamental principles thereof. If the Legislature may infringe the Constitution, it is no longer fixed; it is not this year what it was the last, and the interests of the people are wholly at the mercy of the Legislature.' (Page 38.)

"Judge Henry said:—

"'I concur most heartily with my brothers who have gone before me, in the last two points, that the law is unconstitutional, and ought not to be executed; the injunction, therefore, must be overruled; and this opinion I form, not from a view of the memorials, nor from writers who knew not the blessings of free government but as they were seen and felt through the prospect of future times, but from *honest reason, common sense*, and the great letter of a free Constitution.' (Page 66.)

"Judge Tucker said, in concluding his remarks:—

"'From all these instances, it appears to me that this deduction clearly follows, viz.: the judiciary *are bound* to take notice of the Constitution as the *first law of the land*, and that *whatsoever is contrary thereto is not the law of the land.*' (Page 81.)

"I would moreover suggest, that the statute now under consideration has been recently changed in some of its features, since which I believe there has been no judicial decision under it.

"Fourth. I would respectfully call the attention of the

court to the circumstances under which my review of W. A. Smith's address was written. A person from another county, professing to lecture on Education, had recently traversed the county of Loudoun, and at several places publicly maintained that slavery is right in itself, and is sanctioned by the Bible. He had even ventured to call in question and to ridicule the leading doctrine of the Declaration of Independence, as may be seen by an editorial article in the 'Loudoun Whig,' published the same week that the lecture was delivered in Leesburg. And can it be possible that freedom of speech and of the press are so completely prostrated in Virginia, that a native citizen of the county may not be permitted to answer an address thus publicly delivered, in which were maintained doctrines at variance with the sentiments of Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Patrick Henry, and all the great statesmen of Virginia? The Court will find, on examination of the essay for which I have been presented, that it is moderate and temperate in its tone, expressive of warm attachment to the Federal Union, and of respect for the feelings of my fellow-citizens whose education and circumstances have caused them to view this subject in a different light from that in which I have seen it.

"So careful was I not to give offence, that I erased from it a quotation from Jefferson, which I thought was too strong for the nerves of some sensitive people in Loudoun; and on handing the manuscript to the editor, C. C. McIntyre, who is also a member of the court, I requested him to examine it and strike out any passage that was calculated to do harm. He did examine it with that object, and a clause was stricken out showing the purpose for which the quotation from Wesley was made; but it ought to have been retained, as subsequent events have shown.

"In conclusion, I beg leave to reiterate, that so far from denying that slaves in Virginia are legally the property of their owners, I asserted that 'they are to all intents and purposes chattels personal;' and this is the main ground of my opposition to the whole system of slavery, for from this root spring all its manifold evils.

"Being desirous to pay all due respect to the dignity of the court and the laws of my country, I trust that my ignorance of legal forms, in the preparation of this answer, will be overlooked, and that the court will protect me in the rights secured by our Constitution to the humblest citizen.

S. M. JANNEY.

Loudoun County, 6th mo. 11th, 1850,"

CHAPTER XI.

1850–51.

S. S. Randall suggests his writing the Life of Penn—'Two letters from him on the subject'—Engaged in the work—Visits his friend S. S. Randall, who assists him in revising his book.

During the years 1850 and '51, a considerable portion of my time was occupied in writing the life of William Penn,—a labor of love I enjoyed in the performance, and which has since yielded me great satisfaction. I should probably never have thought of this undertaking, had it not been suggested by my friend Samuel S. Randall; and being doubtful of my ability to accomplish it successfully, I hesitated until he urgently insisted upon my making the attempt.

About the year 1845 or '46, he was living in Fairfax county, Virginia, having removed thither from the State

of New York, on account of his health. During the agitation of the Free School question, he took an interest in the discussions, having been Superintendent of Common Schools in New York; and thus we were brought into sympathy with each other, and a warm friendship sprang up between us. After a brief residence in Virginia, he returned to Albany with his family, and when I visited that city in 1849, he made the suggestion above stated in relation to the Life of Penn. After due consideration, I wrote one or two chapters, and transmitted them to him for examination. He replied, under date of May 28th, 1850, saying he and some of his friends had perused my manuscript with very great interest and pleasure. "We are all," he wrote, "of the opinion, that you should by all means proceed with the work; that it is conceived and thus far executed in the right spirit, and that it cannot fail of meeting the public approbation, if carried out in the same manner. * * * I would devote at least an entire chapter to the history of the origin and progress, up to the period under consideration, of the Quaker doctrine, with a sketch of the life and labors of George Fox, with a general and comprehensive exposition of the leading principles and tenets of the sect. This will serve to elucidate and explain the subsequent connection of Penn with this sect and his identification with their peculiar doctrines, for the details of which I should refer to his various works, without specifying the particulars, except as they might become important to the thread and staple of the story."

In accordance with these views I wrote the second chapter of the work, and sent it to S. S. Randall, from whom I received the following letter:

"ALBANY, June 26th, 1850.

"MY DEAR FRIEND:

"Yours of the 20th instant, enclosing your revision of the second chapter of your proposed work, reached me by due course of mail. I am entirely satisfied with the result, and am of opinion that it will add materially to the value and interest of the history. I have but one other suggestion to make, after full consultation with your friends here to whom I have submitted the manuscript, and that is, that the body of the narrative be diversified as much as possible with incidents of the private life and personal adventures of Penn, such as will exhibit him, as far as possible, living and breathing before us, a fellow-traveler with ourselves on the great and familiar thoroughfare of human life, with all its chequered scenes of good and ill. Every event in the life of such a man that may have come down to us through the long vista of two centuries will be interesting, no matter how common-place or familiar, how trivial or apparently unimportant. If, for instance, we could have had a full diary of all the little incidents occurring from day to day in his family or in his travels, at home or abroad, his reflections and passing thoughts on the current of human events as it rolled on before him; such a diary would now be perused with unmitigated pleasure and satisfaction. 'His homes and haunts,' the association and scenes by which he was from time to time surrounded, and which must have entered to a greater or less extent into that peculiar combination of circumstances which formed and matured his character—all these things should, I think, be dwelt upon, illustrated and elucidated.

"I take the liberty to send you herewith a late number of Sartain's Magazine, which may be of some service to you in following out these hints, should you deem them valuable. Would it not be worth your while to procure the originals, or impressions from these plates, and transfer them, at suitable intervals, to the body of the work? It strikes me they would give it great additional value. The plates could doubtless be procured at very little expense, not exceeding ten or fifteen dollars, if so much.

"I feel a deep interest in the progress and success of your work, and have not the slightest doubt of your ability to accomplish it in a satisfactory manner. I have not been able to procure the edition of

Clarkson to which you refer, but I am not at all apprehensive that it will stand in your way. You can and will make your work of quite a different texture from his. You will aim at a popular exposition of the life and times of the great Pacificator; not so much with reference to his peculiar religious opinions, as to his influence as a philanthropic, clear-headed, strong-minded Reformer, a comprehensive and sagacious Statesman, and a wise and astute Legislator. And when I speak of his influence, I speak of it not so much with reference to the period in which he lived (although that was undoubtedly great), as to the period which has since intervened and is yet in the womb of the future. I wish to see traced, in letters of living light, the influence of a *great idea*, conceived by a strong, powerful and lucid mind in the solitude of his own quiet reflection, upon the future destiny of millions of the human race. I would have that idea clearly, distinctly and luminously brought out, with all its accessories of time, place and circumstance—witness its growth, development and expansion, as well amid the storms and tempests of adversity as under the bright sunshine of prosperity, and be admitted into the very inner penetralia of the sanctuary from whence it sprung as a bright reflection of that higher truth whose dwelling-place is with the Eternal Majesty. This is my conception of the work you have in hand. You must endeavor to divest yourself, as far as you can, of all sectarian feeling, and study and portray the illustrious figure before you in the spirit of a cosmopolite, ever keeping in view the undoubted fact, that however great may have been the measure of light and of truth vouchsafed to George Fox, William Penn, and their fellow-laborers in the same vineyard, it is but a feeble glimmer in comparison with that full and perfect revelation which has been reserved for that coming day when,

> "* * * throned on Zion's brow
> The soul shall rend the vail away
> That blinds the Nations now."

"You cannot gratify me more than by transmitting to me a copy of your manuscript as you progress in your undertaking; and in return I will make, from time to time, such suggestions as may occur to me. It is very doubtful whether I shall be able to attend the National Educational Convention at Philadelphia, in August. Should I do so, however, I will apprise you. Your defence has been very generally admired in this quarter. It is just what it should have been and what

was expected of its author. 'There's a good time coming' in Virginia. I congratulate you on your escape from the toils of the hunters.

"With my own and Mrs. R.'s kindest regards to all our friends at Springdale, I remain yours.

S. S. RANDALL."

On receiving this letter, I determined to go forward, in good earnest, with the book, and accordingly went to Philadelphia to seek for the materials. My friends in that city manifested a lively interest in my undertaking, and through their assistance I obtained access to materials unexpectedly rich and abundant, which I have acknowledged in the preface to the work.

In the latter part of the Sixth month, 1851, I spent about a week in Albany with my friend S. S. Randall, revising my book and preparing it for the press. I found him an excellent critic, and I look back with pleasure on the time spent with him in discussing the many interesting incidents connected with the life of Penn.

On my way home I stopped in Philadelphia to make arrangements for publishing the work. A large number of subscribers having been obtained, I agreed with Hogan & Thompson to print for me one thousand copies to supply subscribers, and one thousand for their own sales, on which they were to pay me twenty-five cents each for copy-right.

The favor with which the book was received far exceeded my expectations. From the press it met with encouraging commendation; and the first edition being quickly exhausted, I had it stereotyped, after correcting some errors, mostly typographical, that had been found in the first edition.

CHAPTER XII.

1851.

He obtains a minute to attend Philadelphia, New York and Genesee Yearly Meetings, with some of the meetings composing them—Some account of his religious exercises while on this journey—Proposition brought to Yearly Meeting for an equitable division of property held by our branch of the Society—Not then carried, but adopted in 1864—Hopes entertained of a more cordial feeling between the two branches—Accepts an invitation to visit Thomas Evans of Philadelphia, who expressed himself satisfied with the Life of Penn—At his request adds some doctrinal matter in the next edition—Letters to Caleb Carmalt—Letters to S. S. Randall and Jane Johnson on the Life of Geo. Fox.

In the Fourth month, 1851, accompanied by my friend William Tate, I left home in order to attend the Yearly Meetings of Philadelphia, New York and Genesee, with some of the meetings composing them. This service I had long had in prospect, and believing that the time was come for its performance, I resigned myself to the Divine requisition, with full assurance that the Heavenly Shepherd would lead me in the path of duty.

On the 28th and 29th of Fourth month we attended Concord Quarterly Meeting, held at Wilmington, and in the evening I had an appointed meeting for the inhabitants of that city. In the Quarterly Meeting I found some openness for religious labor, which was well received by the Friends present. The evening meeting was tolerably well attended, and for a considerable time I saw nothing to do but set an example of silent waiting upon God. At length light sprung up, and I was enabled to preach the gospel

with a heartfelt assurance that the great Teacher and Leader of his people was near us.

Sixth-day, 1st of Fifth month.—We attended Marlborough, a branch of Kennett Monthly Meeting. After a season of patient waiting, I was enabled to supplicate the Father of mercies to open our understandings, to make us acquainted with His will, and to give us ability to perform it. Then the nature of true spiritual religion was brought before the view of my mind, and I arose with the expression of the sentiment, that notwithstanding the variety of opinions and speculations concerning it, there is but one true religion, which is that of the heart—a religion that none but God himself can teach; for all our efforts without His enlightening spirit of grace can never make us acquainted with His kingdom. This holy religion of Christ is the life of God in the soul of man; it must be received with humility and childlike simplicity; and as we abide under his teaching, our spiritual senses will be opened to "discern betwixt good and evil," our evil propensities will be overcome, pure principles, holy desires and heavenly affections will be given to us, and we shall thus become "partakers of the Divine nature" through faith and obedience. This spiritual religion will show itself by its blessed fruits in our life and conversation, and the world will acknowledge that we "have been with Jesus." True religion is modest and unobtrusive, but firm, consistent and persevering; it is not like the mountain torrent which rushes on its way with noise and tumult, but like the gentle brook which glides through the meadows and makes its presence known by the freshness and verdure it imparts.

After attending a number of meetings in Pennsylvania and New Jersey, we came to Philadelphia, in order to attend the Yearly Meeting. On 7th day, Fifth month 11th,

the Yearly Meeting of Ministers and Elders was held at Cherry street house. In the morning I was silent, but many others spoke. In the afternoon, towards the close, I found an opening for some religious service.

First-day.—The morning meeting at Cherry street was very large, the house being crowded, hundreds standing in the yard. I went to the meeting under much religious exercise, and stood up pretty early, being pressed in spirit to call the attention of the people to the manifestation of God in the flesh, not only as it took place in the person of the Messiah, but as a present Saviour, who now comes to save us by his Spirit of Truth immediately revealed to the souls of his obedient, dedicated servants. He saves us by "the washing of regeneration and renewing of the Holy Spirit," and not by works of righteousness which we have done; for good works are the result of salvation, not the cause of it. They are the fruits which are borne by the holy principles of righteousness engrafted into the soul by Divine grace and love. Salvation is by faith; but faith must have an object, and its proper object is the presence and power of God as a spiritual deliverer from the bondage of sin. The coming of Christ in the person of Jesus was a wonderful instance of the mercy of God, and has wrought a vast change in the world, but it has made no change in the will or purposes of God, who has always loved mankind; for God was in Christ reconciling the world unto himself. The blood of Christ which saves and washes from the defilement of sin, is his life, being the life of God in the soul of man.

Several communications followed from other ministers, and the meeting closed well.

In the afternoon we attended Green street meeting, where I was silent except a few words near the close, to show the

excellency of true spiritual worship, which is the Sabbath of the soul.

The Yearly Meeting opened on Second-day, during which and the two succeeding days the usual business was transacted, and much interesting discussion took place.

On Fifth-day, in the afternoon, the Minutes of the Meeting for Sufferings, or Representative Committee, were read, by which it appeared that some attention had been given to the subject of slavery. I felt it my duty to open some views upon the subject, encouraging Friends to be faithful to every clear opening of duty, keeping under the influence of the meek, lamb-like spirit of Christ, and avoiding the excitement of passion, which too often hurries the unwary into rash and improper measures. I stated that the bounds of an excellent discipline allowed me sufficient liberty to labor in this important cause, and I desired that we might all be careful to observe its limitations. My views were responded to by several on both sides; for on this question there are, unhappily, two sides or parties, even among Friends; both of them, I think, are sincerely desirous of promoting our testimony against slavery, but they differ as to the means of advancing it.

The meeting appeared to enter into deep feeling on the subject, and closed with a precious solemnity.

Having felt it my duty to appoint a meeting in the city, I consulted the elders, and proposed to them to invite Priscilla Cadwallader to join in the appointment, if she felt free to do so, which, meeting her approbation, it was announced, at the close of the Yearly Meeting, to take place the next day (the 7th of the week) at 10 A. M. The meeting was attended by a large concourse, mostly Friends. I found it my duty in the early part of the meeting to make a brief communication, which was followed

by an extended and able discourse from Priscilla, accompanied, as I thought, by Divine unction, and I felt thankful that I was instrumental to open the way for her, especially as her lips had not been opened in ministry during the whole of the Yearly Meeting.

Trenton, N. J., Fifth month 23d, 1851.—After attending nine meetings in Bucks county, we arrived here, and held an appointed meeting last night. Yesterday, at Fallsington, near the close of my discourse, I made a mistake in a Scripture quotation, which was instantly corrected by my dear old friend Samuel Comfort, who sat near me; I accepted the correction, repeated the text verbatim, and went on with my discourse. This mistake brought me under great humiliation, for it arose from unwatchfulness; but the meeting ended well.

I went to the meeting in Trenton last evening in a state of self-abasement, and being enabled to dig deeper than usual, the well-spring of the gospel flowed forth abundantly, to the refreshment of my own soul as well as others who were present.

New York, Seventh-day, Fifth month 24th.—We attended to-day two sittings of the Yearly Meeting of Ministers and Elders. I was silent in both, but several others were much engaged in speaking to the business before the meeting, and in exhortation.

First-day morning.—At Rose street public meeting for worship there was a great concourse. Soon after the meeting became settled, I felt drawn into religious exercise, and after calling the attention of the people to that inward spiritual worship by which we draw nigh unto God for the renewal of our strength, I was led to speak on the nature of Christ's kingdom and the object or end of the Messiah's advent, showing that it was not intended to produce any

change in the disposition of our Heavenly Father towards man, but a change in man, whereby he may become reconciled to God and a partaker of the Divine nature. Several other communications followed, and it was a favored meeting.

In the afternoon I attended meeting at Hester street house, and was silent. John Hunt was much exercised, and I thought labored effectually in the ministry.

Second-day, Fifth month 26th.—The Yearly Meeting was opened; a large number of ministers from other Yearly Meetings being in attendance. Much excellent advice was given, and a good feeling pervaded the meeting. Some allusions having been made to the relation in which we stand towards the civil government, and more especially to the countenance and support given to war and slavery, I felt called to give my views, in substance as follows:—

The form of government under which we live is the best and most liberal now existing in the world, and is probably as good as the people of this country are capable of supporting. We ought to be thankful that we are not subject to ecclesiastical tyranny, nor subjected to much suffering for our testimonies, as our forefathers were, and as we should be now in any other country. Nevertheless, our government is not conducted on Christian principles; it is not only supported by the sword, but assists to hold in bondage millions of our fellow-creatures, who are kept in ignorance and degradation. We should endeavor to love and feel for all men, not only for the oppressed, but the oppressor, whose happiness is impaired by his position, and when we desire the release of his victim, it is to promote the welfare of both. The purposes of Divine Providence are often achieved by means inscrutable to man; we can only promote them by acting in obedience

to His will and under the influence of His spirit. As we abide under His law, which is above all human laws, we may become instrumental in exalting the standard of righteousness and improving the moral condition of society, which will lead to the correction of abuses and the amelioration of civil laws. We must not resist the laws of the land, nor advise others to resist them; neither can we assist to put in force a law which is inconsistent with our religious principles, but like the primitive Christians and early Friends, we must be willing to suffer patiently the penalties inflicted for our non-compliance, which will spread the knowledge of the Truth and the principles we profess. The triumphs of Christianity have never been achieved by violence, but by the patient sufferings of the faithful, and we should remember that the disciples of the Saviour have ever been led by that spirit which "takes its kingdom by entreaty, and keeps it by lowliness of mind."

After the close of the Yearly Meeting, I attended a meeting appointed for me at Hester street. It was attended by many, and I was favored with ability to labor "in word and doctrine," much to my own peace of mind. The principal subject of the discourse was the omnipresence of God, and the influence of His spirit on the human soul, impressing us, even in early youth, with a sense of good and a desire for holiness, and when we transgress, bringing us into condemnation for sin. The nature of salvation was also touched upon, showing that it is the work of God in the soul, the subjection of our wills to His will, the suppression of our evil propensities, and the bringing forth in us of those pure and holy principles which are the fruits of the Spirit. It is the life of Christ or power of God inwardly revealed that saves from sin; nevertheless, we should not lightly esteem or derogate from the value of

that wonderful display of Divine power and goodness in the person of Jesus Christ, the highest and best of all the sons of God. He did not sin, but dwelt in the Divine presence continually; the works that he did were through the power of his Father that dwelt in him; he is called by the apostle the first born among many brethren; and he said himself, after his resurrection, "Go and say to my brethren, I ascend to my Father and your Father, to my God and your God."

Leaving the city of New York, we proceeded to Duchess County, and attended some meetings, one of which was held at Stanford. We were accompanied by John Wine, a minister in good esteem, who for some years had seldom appeared in that service. I told him, before meeting, I should be glad if the Master would lay on him the service of that meeting, which proved to be the case. We sat, I think, nearly an hour in silence, during which I saw nothing for me to do—not the least opening of life, but a state of patient waiting upon God. John then arose, and delivered a lively and edifying discourse, which though brief, was sufficient to bring the meeting into a feeling of solemnity. I felt it right, in a few words, to express the feelings that attended my mind,—that "the Lord might send by whom he would send;" for He alone can call and qualify His instruments and render their labor effective.

In the Sixth month we attended Genesee Yearly Meeting, held at North Farmington. On First-day morning the meeting was very large. After a brief but pertinent communication from Eleazer Haviland and a few words from Justus Wright, I found it my place to rise and bear testimony to the universal love of God to the human family. I adverted to the language of Moses to the Israelites: "I have set before you life and death, blessing

and cursing; therefore choose life."—Deut. xxx. 19. The power of choice is conferred upon us, of which we are all conscious, and therefore responsible for our deviations from the Divine law revealed in our hearts. This law was made known to Adam, and the consequence of transgression was pointed out when the Most High said to him "In the day thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die;"—a prediction that was exactly fulfilled. The penalty thus denounced against sin was not the death of the body, for he did not then die as to the body; but he experienced a separation from the source of life—he became "carnally-minded," which is death; he was like a withered branch, ready to be cut off. In this state he was not permitted to partake of the tree of life,—that is to hold sweet communion with his Heavenly Father; for having lost his innocence, he was cast out of Eden, the garden of God, and it was an evidence of Divine mercy that he was not permitted to enjoy peace of mind while in this condition, lest he should continue in it, and remain an alien from his Father's house. Thanks be to God for his unspeakable gift, he does not permit man to remain in this state without "the reproofs of instruction, which are the way of life." He visits us with the powerful convictions of truth, even as the prodigal, when he had wandered far from his father's house and spent his substance in riotous living, was visited by Divine grace, and was enabled to see that neither the gratification of sensual appetites, nor the husks of an empty profession, could satisfy the longings of an immortal spirit that was formed for heavenly joy. But when he came to himself,—saw himself as he really was—and was willing to return in a state of humility and contrition, the father was ready to receive with open arms the repenting sinner: He did not stand off in high displeasure,

nor require the obedient son, who had remained at home, to suffer the penalty of his brother's transgression. No; he required no vicarious sacrifice. The reconciliation was already made when the prodigal repented and returned, humbly desiring the lowest place in the father's house. The atonement consists in man being reconciled to God, by a change of heart, which is the work of Christ in us, for "Not by works of righteousness which we have done, but according to his mercy he saved us by the washing of, regeneration and renewing of the Holy Ghost; which he shed on us abundantly through Jesus Christ our Saviour, that, being justified by his grace, we should be made heirs according to the hope of eternal life."—Titus iii. 5.

Just before the close of the Yearly Meeting, Caleb Carmalt, the clerk, addressed the meeting in a feeling and impressive manner concerning the divisions which have taken place among Friends, by which the Society is now severed into two distinct bodies, each of which has been weakened by smaller subdivisions. He showed that the fundamental doctrine of the Society, the immediate operation of the Divine principle in man, is held by both of the two main bodies, and that the testimonies we bear are the same, and he pointed to the necessity of reunion, in order that our influence in promoting the great cause of truth and righteousness may be effectual in the world.

His views were so entirely in accordance with my own, that I felt it my duty to express my concurrence, and to extend the subject further by a more direct reference to our duty in the case, which is to live near the Divine principle in ourselves, to evince by our life and conversation that we are the disciples of Christ, to cherish kind feelings towards those of our brethren who are separated from us, and to embrace every opening to remove the obstructions that prevent a reunion.

After attending meetings at Wheatland and Mendon, we came to Rochester, where we had an appointed meeting on First-day afternoon. Soon after the meeting assembled, my mind was impressed with the query, What is the purpose or intention of meeting for Divine worship? Do we suppose we can contribute anything to the happiness of the Deity or augment His glory? No, this cannot be; for He is perfectly happy in Himself and infinitely glorious. We may indeed become instrumental in spreading among men the knowledge of His glory, but we can, in reality, add nothing to it, nor can we suppose His favor is to be gained by lifeless ceremonies or empty praise; for He is not like man, to be influenced by adulation. The object to be sought for in Divine worship is forcibly stated by the Apostle Paul in his address to the Athenians: "That they should seek the Lord, if haply they might feel after Him and find Him, though He be not far from every one of us, for in Him we live and move and have our being." How appropriate, therefore, is a state of solemn silence, in which the mind, being withdrawn from all temporal concerns, is engaged in secret prayer or reverent waiting upon God. In this frame of mind, He opens to us our own states and conditions, by the influence of His Holy Spirit, when, being brought into humility and contrition, we are enabled, from a sense of our wants, to ask of Him light to guide us in the paths of duty, and strength to perform all that He requires of us. As we are thus engaged in waiting upon Him, we are brought under the influence of His holy law, inwardly revealed—"the law of the spirit of life in Christ Jesus,"—and as we continue in obedience to this law, the animal nature is subjected to the spiritual; the appetites, passions and desires are brought under Divine government, we are delivered from the bondage of corrup-

tion, and introduced into the glorious liberty of the sons and daughters of God. This is salvation: a deliverance not only from the guilt and punishment of sin, but from the dominion of evil; and no other power but the spirit of Christ can effect this great work for us. There never has been, nor can there be, any other Saviour of men than God Himself, as he has said, by the mouth of his prophet, "I, even I, am the Lord, and besides me there is no Saviour."—Isa. xliii. 11. Jesus was called the Saviour, because in him was a full manifestation of the one eternal, Omnipresent power. His word or spirit has in all ages operated upon man. He taught our first parents in Eden; He strove with the antediluvian world, even when far advanced in wickedness; He appeared in the patriarchs, and instructed the prophets, for "they prophesied beforehand of the sufferings of Christ and the glory that should follow, through the Spirit of Christ that was in them." The most full and perfect of His manifestations to man was in the person of Jesus, the Son and sent of God, who did no sin, neither was guile found in his mouth; who lived in entire obedience to the Divine will, for he declared, "I can of my own self do nothing, as I hear I judge, and my judgment is just because I do the will of Him that sent me."

It may be asked, and I have no doubt is asked, "Have the sufferings and outward sacrifice of Christ done nothing for us?" Did he not suffer for us, according to the Scriptures? Undoubtedly he "suffered for us, leaving us an example that we should follow his steps."—Peter ii. 21. We believe what is written concerning him in the Scriptures, the best of all books, and we there find it recorded as his own language, "To this end was I born, and for this cause came I into the world, that I should bear witness unto

the Truth." John xviii. 37. Now, it is evident he could not bear witness to the truth among that wicked and perverse people without suffering for it; therefore he submitted to it, and his sufferings have been instrumental in effecting a mighty change in the condition of millions of the human family. Nothing is so well calculated to soften and subdue the obdurate heart as a realizing sense of the Saviour's sufferings for the cause of Truth. But no change was wrought in the Deity by the sufferings of Christ; His will and His purposes have been always the same, and always right.

The atonement or reconciliation consists in a change being wrought in man by which he is brought into unity with God, agreeably to the declaration of Paul: "God was in Christ reconciling the world unto himself. . . . We pray you therefore as ambassadors for Christ, be ye reconciled to God." When we become thus reconciled by a change of heart, we shall show forth in life and conversation the fruits of the spirit which are meekness, patience, temperance, brotherly kindness and charity. These blessed fruits have, in all ages, been manifested by those who came under the Divine government, and whenever it shall prevail in the hearts of mankind it will put an end to strife, contention and oppression. War and slavery spring from the unrestrained passions of men, and the only power that can effectually subdue them is that which comes from God; acts immediately upon the soul, and bears witness in the hearts of the people when the truth is spoken

These were the principal topics touched upon, so far as I can remember. A feeling of deep solemnity pervaded the meeting, and after taking my seat I rose again to make a few observations on the subject of prayer. This is the most solemn and important of all our duties, and can only be performed aright as we wait upon God and receive from

Him a knowledge of our condition and a sense of our wants. We are then enabled to ask for food convenient for us, which will be given to us in due season, for He grants the prayer that is made according to His will. As the little child looks to its parent for food, and is prompted by hunger to ask for it, so the soul that is born again of the Spirit and brought into a state of humble, childlike obedience, cries to our Heavenly Father for spiritual bread, and the spontaneous breathing of the soul thus poured forth, is acceptable in the Divine sight. If our Lord and Master found it proper for him to withdraw from the haunts of men to hold communion with his Heavenly Father and offer up supplications to Him, how much more is it needful for us, who are compassed about with infirmities, to watch unto prayer and seek for continual supplies of light and strength from on high.

Such was the substance of my exercises in this meeting. It was to me a memorable time, being crowned with a degree of life and power that I have seldom experienced. After the close of the meeting we were informed that most of the Congregational Friends who have separated from our Society in Rochester were present, as well as many of the Orthodox Friends who hold a meeting in this city. Some of the members of both these sections expressed their concurrence with the views held forth, so that extremes seemed to meet under the cementing influence of Divine love, and I felt truly thankful to the Author of all good. After attending meetings at Waterloo and Scipio, we came to Albany and attended Friends' Meeting on Fifth day, which was to me a comfortable opportunity, being spent for the most part in silence, but towards the close I felt called to offer a brief exhortation. At a subsequent meeting in the same city, soon after taking my seat, a passage in the First

Epistle of Paul to the Corinthians (Chap. iii. 18.) was revived in my mind. "If any man among you seemeth to be wise in this world let him become a fool that he may be wise, for the wisdom of this world is foolishness with God."

From this I was led to show that we must cease to rely upon our own wisdom, that which stands in mere scholarship or intellectual attainment—and come into the child-like state of humble docility, willing and desirous to be taught of God who makes known His law in the secret of the heart—the law of the spirit of life in Christ Jesus.

How beautiful is the simplicity of the Gospel; how admirably adapted to all conditions, requiring on our part only simplicity of heart and unreserved obedience. By means of this holy power revealed in the soul, the natural man is brought into subjection to the spiritual—we are made partakers of the Divine Nature, not by imputation but by transformation; then the reconciliation or atonement is effected, which is a work of God in man through the revelation of Christ in us the hope of glory.

On the 8th of Seventh month I arrived at home and found my family well, for which blessing I was thankful to the Author of all good, and in the retrospect of my journey I felt peace of mind.

After my return Caleb Carmalt wrote to me in reference to the views he had expressed at Genesee Yearly Meeting (and which were seconded by myself) in relation to the separation in the Society of Friends and the desirableness of a re-union. I replied, under date Seventh Month, 20th, 1851, as follows:

"I often think of the views opened by thee and seconded by myself at the close of your Yearly Meeting, and the query rises in my mind, what can we do to promote so desirable a result as the re-union of the scattered fragments

of this once favored Society? The answer seems to be that in our own wisdom and strength we can do nothing, but through Divine aid, when properly called and qualified, we may do much. The most important point is for us to live near the Divine Power, who will enable us to preach by example, and will open a way for us in the hearts of others when he calls us to labor in His vineyard. There is far too much reliance upon mere dogma and too little upon the indwelling of Christ, even among us, who profess a spiritual religion. The freedom of thought and expression prevailing among us has sometimes been attended by the promulgation of views that shock the feelings of pious minds in other churches. Some of these liberal views, as they are called, are erroneous; others have truth in them, but so unguardedly expressed as to pass for error with many who might otherwise receive them. I think the views we hold, if properly elucidated, would find an opening in the minds of many, for there is a spirit of inquiry abroad which seems to say: Who shall show us any good? There are many among our Friends in the several Yearly Meetings who are competent to be useful as writers, and may I not say that thou art one of them?

"I have thought a series of essays or tracts written in a style to interest general readers, explanatory of our principles, and interspersed with authentic anecdotes and short narratives, would circulate well among Friends and others. They might come out occasionally or periodically, and subscriptions could be obtained to promote their distribution."

In a subsequent letter to the same friend, I wrote as follows: "As to the 're-union' spoken of in thy letter, I ardently desire it, provided it can be obtained without a sacrifice of principle, but I do not think the time has come

for a direct proposition to the Orthodox Friends. There is no prospect that it can take place while those old persons in *both branches*, who were concerned in the separation, are living. Some of the Orthodox Friends hold Trinitarian doctrines, and think none can be saved who do not believe in a vicarious atonement. With these views they cannot coalesce with us. I am therefore of opinion that no direct approach should be made to them just now, except that in those places where we hold the property of the Society owned before the separation, we should offer them an equitable share according to numbers.

"At our last Quarterly Meeting I proposed this measure and was glad to hear a favorable response from many influential members, but it was thought best for the Yearly Meeting to take the initiatory steps. There is, however, a work for us to do in order to prepare the way for a future re-union, and that is to hold up the doctrines and principles of the Society clearly and frankly, not blinking those points in which we differ from the Orthodox Friends, but showing that our doctrines are sustained by the Scriptures. In order to make our essays interesting, I would propose that we should sometimes introduce narratives or incidents from the lives of pious persons of other religious denominations, as well as our own."

The proposition for an equitable division of the property held by our branch of the Society, was brought before Baltimore Yearly Meeting in the year 1852, but was not then carried, owing to the opposition of some elderly Friends. In the year 1864, under a sense of religious duty, I opened the subject again in Baltimore Yearly Meeting, when the proposition was unanimously adopted, and in the following year it was carried into effect, as related in my History of the Separation.

Soon after the publication of my "Life of William Penn," I was led to hope that its cordial reception by the Orthodox Friends and the esteem they manifested for me, would enable me to do something towards promoting a reunion between the two branches of the Society of Friends. I felt assured that the obstacles to be removed existed mostly with them. Our branch of the Society had for many years treated them as Christian brethren, granting to their ministers the use of our meeting-houses, attending their meetings when appointed in our houses, and endeavoring to heal the wounds inflicted in the controversy that attended the separation. It was therefore with much pleasure that I accepted an invitation from Thomas Evans, one of the most influential of their ministers, to visit him at his house in Philadelphia. I was cordially received, and we had a conversation on Christian doctrines that was very satisfactory to me. His chief object in seeking an interview was to express his sentiments in relation to my "Life of William Penn." According to my recollection of his remarks, he said the book was so good that he felt desirous that it should be made better by giving some extracts from the writings of Penn on doctrinal subjects. He proposed that I should insert a passage which he named in the "Sandy Foundation Shaken," an extract from Penn's letter to Doctor Collenger, and a passage from the Journal of George Fox concerning his conversation with Priest Stevens. I told him I would examine the passages and would comply with his request if I found it right to do so.

The result of my examination was the insertion of the extract from the "Sandy Foundation Shaken," on page 54 of the stereotyped edition of the work.

In the Sixth month, 1852, I wrote to my friend, S. S. Randall, as follows:

"In my last letter I informed thee that I was acting in conformity with thy suggestion by attempting a "Life of George Fox," and I now proceed to inflict the penalty I threatened, by sending for thy perusal the first four chapters of it. . . . After examining them please say whether in thy opinion I can make it a work that will interest general readers. I would not sacrifice religious principle to popularity, but I wish to make it interesting in order that it may have a wider scope of usefulness."

EIGHTH MONTH, 27th, 1853.

"JANE JOHNSON:—*Esteemed Friend.* * * * The work (Life of George Fox) on which I have, for some time past, been assiduously engaged, is now nearly completed, and I expect to come to Philadelphiaearly next month to superintend the stereotyping of it. I have not usually spoken of it as a religious concern, being careful how I stamp my undertakings with that high authority, but it appeared to be right for me to begin it, and I have endeavored, while engaged in it, to keep my mind turned towards Him who alone can enable us to promote the glorious cause of righteousness and truth. . . . . I think many Friends unite with me in a concern that the valuable treasures locked up in the writings of early Friends, may become better known to the world. They are like ingots of gold that require to be coined in order to make them a circulating medium, and I believe there are many, not of our Society, who are prepared to appreciate their value. A gift in the ministry I esteem a higher and more responsible trust than a talent for writing, but both should be held in subordination to the Spirit of Divine Truth, and then they will not interfere with one another. Having given up my school, I have now no other secular business except that of an author, and I wish to devote the remainder of my days to the service of my Gracious Maker and Redeemer, and to seek by a nearer union with Him for a qualification to do His work."

CHAPTER XIII.

1854.

Attends Philadelphia and New York Yearly Meetings, and some Meetings belonging to them—Interviews with Richard Mott and Stephen Grellet—Letter to Dillwyn Parrish.

Fourth month, 29th, left home, with my friend, John Smith, for companion, under a religious concern to attend Philadelphia and New York Yearly Meetings, and to appoint some meetings within their limits.

After attending Concord Quarterly Meeting, we proceeded to Abington Quarter, where we made our home with our dear ancient Friend, Isaac Parry, whose interesting and instructive conversation has contributed much to our enjoyment.

Fifth month, 5th, were at Thomas Parry's, and went from his house to a meeting appointed for us at Friends' meeting house called Warminster. It was not a large meeting, but solemn and satisfactory.

The omnipresence of Deity, not merely held as a speculative opinion, but as a fact made known by religious experience, was the principal subject on which I felt concerned to speak.

I showed that this great truth when made known to us by the operation of Divine grace, is attended with an humbling sense of our weakness and nothingness, as in the case of the patriarch Job, who exclaimed, "I have heard of Thee by the hearing of the ear, but now mine eye seeth Thee, and I abhor myself in dust and ashes."

After meeting went to Charles Kirk's, who, with Dr.

Mitchell, accompanied us to visit a friend who has long been confined at home by sickness. We had a pleasant social visit and a short season of worship, in which our hearts were brought near each other in the life of the Lamb.

Fifth month, Sixth, attended an appointed meeting at Upper Dublin in the afternoon. Found but little opening for Gospel Ministry, spoke but a short time, and was afterwards apprehensive I had said too much.

Seventh, First-day, at Gwynedd. A large meeting, and favored with the evidence of Divine life, in which I was enabled to minister in the ability which God giveth. To Him alone be the praise. In the afternoon came to Philadelphia, and attended the evening meeting at Cherry Street. It was a solemn and satisfactory occasion.

Ninth, at Philadelphia Quarterly Meeting. Although much weakness was acknowledged in the reports, and some expressions heard in the meeting that might have been spared, it was, upon the whole, satisfactory to find some improvement since I last attended.

Eleventh, at Salem Quarterly Meeting. During the public meeting my mind was drawn forth in love to the people, and the spring of Gospel ministry was opened, which flowed freely. May it be blessed by Him who alone can give the increase. The meeting for discipline was trying, and somewhat discouraging from the evidence of weakness and disunity furnished by the reports.

Thirteenth, Yearly Meeting of Ministers and Elders at Philadelphia. Although there is much weakness manifest, and some disunity acknowledged, it was, on the whole, a satisfactory meeting from the feeling of Divine life and love that prevailed.

Fourteenth, First-day, a crowded meeting at Cherry Street in the forenoon, another at seven in the evening.

Several dear Friends were engaged in Gospel ministry to edification, and it pleased the Great Head of the Church to call me forth as one of the instruments for the exaltation of the blessed truth.

Attended Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, which was very satisfactory. Much pertinent advice was expressed by many Friends, and the meeting at large appeared to enter into a lively exercise for the good of the body and the advancement of truth. Through Divine favor, I was enabled to take a share in it with acceptance to Friends.

When the epistle to other Yearly Meetings was read, it appeared that the Committee had introduced into it a clause declaring that those who are engaged in what are called "Spiritual manifestations, through mediums," pretending to communicate with the dead, are "drunken, but not with wine; they stagger, but not with strong drink." This was objected to by a minister living in Philadelphia, who said this meeting knew nothing about the subject, and ought not to meddle with it, or words to this effect. He was supported by several, but the great body of the meeting seemed to be in favor of retaining the clause, and some members spoke of the injurious effects of the delusion on this subject, by which many have been driven to insanity. A valued Friend objected to the offensive language employed in the epistle, and proposed that it should be modified by striking out some part of it. A proposition was also made to refer the epistle back to the Committee for revision, but many objected. At this stage of the discussion, I rose to offer some views which had arisen in my mind. I adverted to the fundamental principle of Christianity as professed by us,—the light of Christ, the spirit of Truth manifested to the seeking, devoted soul, as the only sure guide and dependence for salvation. They who

seek for knowledge by a pretended communication with the spirits of the dead, forsake Him who is a fountain of living water, and hew out for themselves cisterns—broken cisterns that can hold no water. In relation to the clause in the epistle, I remarked that it was rather inappropriate to send forth such an admonition to other Yearly Meetings before this meeting had issued any advice on the subject to its own members. I therefore proposed that a suitable minute should be made, treating the subject in a kind and affectionate manner, which should be sent down to the subordinate meetings, and that the epistle to other Yearly Meetings should merely inform them of the advice this meeting had deemed it right to address to its members.

This proposition met with general concurrence; the clerks were requested to prepare a minute expressive of the exercise of the meeting, and the epistle was referred back to the Committee to be modified. Next morning I met the clerks, by their request, and assisted in the preparation of their minute, which, on being read after the opening of the meeting, was accepted without objection. The epistle was also produced, having been modified and improved, and it was finally agreed to by the meeting after an interesting discussion. The clerks' minute is as follows:

"Under a lively exercise for our preservation in the blessed truth, Friends have been affectionately cautioned against listening to the delusive voices that are in the world, which, pretending to be spiritual manifestations, would draw us away from the safe reliance,—*Christ, the light and life of the soul*—the only medium by which we can attain to the saving knowledge of Divine truth.

"George Fox says, 'To take counsel of the dead was forbidden by the law of God; they were to take counsel of the Lord. He hath given Christ in the new covenant in

his gospel day to be a counseller and leader to all believers in his light.'

"This testimony is applicable to the present day, and shall *we*, who profess to be the followers of Christ, and who have been blessed with the light of the gospel, turn away from Him who is the fountain of living waters, and hew out for ourselves 'cisterns, broken cisterns, that can hold no water?"

At the public meeting on Fifth-day, during Yearly Meeting week, being at Green Street, I was called forth in the ministry more extensively than is usual with me. The subject was opened by quoting the expression of Paul, "After the way that some call heresy, I worship the God of my fathers." This was uttered by the Apostle at a time when the Christian Church was under much persecution and suffering. The Jews, though expecting the Messiah, refused to receive him when he came, because his appearance was more humble than suited their ambitious views. He came to bear witness to the truth,—"to call the attention of mankind from the outward forms to the inward power of religion; to the life of God in the soul of man as the only means by which we can be redeemed from sin and brought into union and communion with our Heavenly Father." This precious doctrine of the inward life, our Lord taught in His discourses, exemplified in his conduct, confirmed by his miracles, and sealed by his painful death and triumphant resurrection. He foresaw the consequences of the doctrines he taught, he knew that the Jewish hierarchy would conspire against him, and he prophesied of his sufferings and of his rising again from the dead. But his sufferings were not vicarious. The Most High never punished the innocent as a substitute for the wicked. His language was, and still is, "The righteousness of the

righteous shall be upon him, and the wickedness of the wicked shall be upon him: the soul that sinneth it shall die." But the soul which is dead in trespasses and sin may be raised into newness of life through the power of Christ inwardly revealed as a quickening spirit. It is true that the Apostle says Christ hath suffered for our sins—the just for the unjust—that he might bring us to God. Here the reason is assigned: the change is to be wrought in man, whereby he that was alienated through sin may, through repentance and amendment of life, be reconciled and brought unto God.

In order to promulgate and exemplify this pure doctrine, the Apostles were sent forth, being endued with power from on high. By choosing His disciples from among fishermen and mechanics who had little or none of the world's erudition, and sending them forth without scrip or purse, saying, "Freely ye have received, freely give," the Divine Master has left an example for all succeeding generations to show that his servants must minister of the ability that God giveth, not looking to man for their reward. The purity of their doctrine, the consistency of their lives and the abundant effusions of the Holy Spirit caused multitudes to flock to the Christian church. With numbers came wealth and power. The princes of the earth sought an alliance with the church, and lavished honors on her ministers, by which they were corrupted and a long night of apostacy ensued. With the Protestant Reformation light rose upon the world, but those valiant men who were engaged in its promotion, although they may have lived up to the light they had, saw but imperfectly in the early dawn.

They retained some of the relics of papal superstition, and by instituting an established order of clergy who alone

were supposed capable of imparting religious knowledge, they obstructed the progress of the light. George Fox and his co-laborers were called and qualified by Divine grace to revive primitive Christianity by calling the attention of men to the only saving power, the life of God in the soul by obedience to which we may be regenerated and made partakers of the Divine nature. This "law of the spirit of life in Christ Jesus," by which we are made free from the "law of sin and death," that "wars in our members," is the root from which all the precious testimonies of Truth have sprung, and it is only as we abide in Him, the true vine, that we can bring forth fruits to the glory of God and the advancement of our own happiness. The early Friends, like the primitive Christians, were contemned and persecuted, but the purity of their lives and the excellence of their testimonies won the admiration of the world, and they not only obtained toleration for religious tenets and worship, but in process of time were applauded and caressed to their own hurt. They were generally spoken of as "the very respectable Society of Friends." Many of the members became rich, and some of this class who had no depth of religious experience, became active in the administration of discipline. A spirit of domination began to appear, abstruse points of doctrine were insisted on and sought to be made tests of soundness in religious faith, dissatisfaction and hostility were manifested in meetings for discipline and worship, until a large part of this Yearly Meeting, believing it their duty to withdraw from scenes of dissension and altercation, met in this house twenty-seven years ago and determined to re-organize the Society on its ancient principles. They introduced no new doctrines, nor did they make any change of moment in the discipline previously existing, but they recurred to first principles,

and placing their reliance upon Divine love as their bond of Union, they asserted once more the religious liberty enjoyed by their fathers. This religious Society has not yet accomplished its work, as some appear to think, for there is a vast field of labor open to us, the fields are white already to harvest, and it should be the prayer of our hearts that the Lord would send forth more laborers.

Fifth month, 25th, attended Monthly Meeting at Chatham, New York, and in the afternoon was at the house of John Coffin, where, in a meeting for worship appointed for the purpose, my son John took in marriage, Eliza T., the daughter of John Coffin. It was a solemn meeting, and I believed it my duty to make some remarks on the importance of seeking Divine aid to enable us to perform the duties of the marriage covenant.

Fifth month, 27th, attended New York Yearly Meeting of ministers and elders, both morning and afternoon to good satisfaction.

First-day, 28th, at Rose Street Meeting for worship where I was called forth in gospel ministry. The subject was the Omnipresence of Deity and the influence of Divine grace upon the soul, as set forth in the address of the Apostle Paul to the Athenians. From this I was led to consider the object of Christ's Mission, the ministry of the Apostles, the spread of Christianity, the Apostacy, the Protestant Reformation, the revival of primitive Christianity among the early Friends, and the principles and testimonies of our religious Society. I thought I was favored, but on taking my seat, was apprehensive I had not dwelt sufficiently long on our testimony against slavery. A friend arose soon after, and among other interesting remarks which she made, the evils of slavery were commented on with much feeling.

Some of the sittings of the Yearly Meeting were seasons of painful exercise, but the last was highly favored, and the closing one was crowned with the evidence of Divine life. My Divine Master graciously condescended to employ me in His service to my own humbling admiration. As I came away from the last sitting my heart was filled with Divine love, and the language seemed to arise "Behold I have set before thee an open door."

Sixth-day, Sixth month, 2d. Having received an invitation from Richard Mott, now in his 86th year, a minister of the other branch of the Society of Friends called Orthodox, I went to see him at his lodgings. We had no personal acquaintance, but he received me very cordially. He expressed the satisfaction he had derived from my "Life of Penn," and his intention to read my "Life of George Fox" as soon as he could procure it. He asked me whether I was willing to have it criticised. I replied that it was just what I wished him to do, for I desired to know whether we differed in sentiment, and on what points we disagreed. He inquired what I had done with George Fox's letter to the Governor of Barbadoes. I told him it was composed almost entirely of Scripture phrases, and that I had arranged it in parallel columns with extracts from his other writings to show what he understood those Scripture texts to mean. I further remarked that I supposed he would be satisfied with my exposition of George Fox's views on the Divinity of Christ, but perhaps he might not be satisfied with my rejection of the doctrine of Vicarious Satisfaction, which I think George Fox also rejected. He replied that this is not an essential doctrine. I then remarked that we could tolerate this doctrine in others, or even in our own members, but we could not believe it, nor submit to its being made a test of soundness in faith. I observed, more-

over, that George Fox, in one of his doctrinal essays, had referred to most of the passages in the New Testament which speak of the efficacy of the blood of Christ, and has shown that the blood is the Life—the indwelling of Divine Power.

Richard Mott and another Orthodox Friend who sat by, assented to this doctrine. Richard expressed the sentiment that we who are called Hicksites do not now hold the views of Elias Hicks, who, in his opinion, had imbibed some of Priestley's views, which were inconsistent with the doctrines of Friends. I replied that we did not profess to be followers of Elias Hicks, nor acknowledge the name of Hicksites. If we must take the name of any man we should choose to be called Foxites, but we profess to be followers of Christ. As to Elias Hicks, we think he was a good man. Yes, said Richard, he was a strictly moral man.

I queried whether he was not a man of devotional feelings? He answered, yes, he was at one time of his life. I then remarked that it was difficult for men who had been arrayed against each other in religious controversy, to judge impartially of each other's characters, therefore, we must make some allowance for his estimate of Elias Hicks. He smiled and said, Oh! we were wrong on both sides at the time of the separation. We both acted under the influence of excitement, and nothing can be done rightly in religious concerns under such feelings.

I inquired of him whether there were not objectionable passages in the writings of J. J. Gurney? He admitted that there were expressions that he would not have used, but J. J. G. had in the latter part of his life expunged many of them and had shown much submission to the judgment of his friends. He described Gurney as a man of exalted principles, pure benevolence and genuine piety. I ad-

mitted that he was a good and pious man, but supposed he was not a Quaker of the Foxite stamp in his doctrines.

At parting with Richard Mott he expressed his satisfaction with the interview, and said he thought we did not differ essentially in our doctrinal views.

Sixth-month, 4th. Having come into the vicinity of Westbury, Long Island, we went on First-day morning with our kind friends, William Cock and wife, to Cow Neck Meeting, which was also attended by Eleazer Haviland, from Nine Partners, and by Rebecca Price, a minister from Gunpowder in Maryland. She is on a religious visit, accompanied by Isaac Dixon and wife. In the afternoon we were at an appointed meeting at Matinecock and in the evening attended one at Oyster Bay. In all these meetings, our friend Rebecca spoke acceptably in the early part, which seemed to open the way for me, and I trust I had good service in the cause of Truth. At Oyster Bay the meeting was composed chiefly of those not members of our Society, and much openness was felt in the communication of religious instruction.

On Second-day, we attended appointed meetings at Westbury and Jericho, and on Third-day at Bethpage and Jerusalem; our friend, Rebecca Price, and her companions, being with us. These meetings were small, except the last, which was attended by some not in membership with us.

Sixth month, 7th, attended Monthly Meeting in the City of New York, and had some religious service, showing the manner and the spirit in which discipline should be exercised in the Christian Church, under the restoring influence of Gospel love.

In the evening, attended an appointed meeting at Flushing, Long Island, but the weather being unfavorable, it was small. Our Friend, Rebecca Price, spoke acceptably,

and, after long waiting, I believed it right to appear in the ministry, and, towards the close, felt some life to arise, which, I trust, was also felt by others.

On Fifth-day, attended Monthly Meeting at Flushing, which was small, and then we returned to the City of New York, where I had appointed a meeting to be held in the evening at Hester Street house. It was attended by a considerable number of Friends and others.

The discourse of our Saviour with Martha and Mary was brought before the view of my mind, and I was led to speak on it, commencing with these words addressed to Mary: "The Master is come and calleth for thee." One of the sisters said to him, "If thou hadst been here our brother had not died." He answered, "Thy brother shall rise again." She said, "I know he will arise in the resurrection at the last day." He replied, "I am the resurrection and the life. He that believeth on me, though he were dead, yet shall he live; and he that liveth and believeth on me shall never die." On considering this emphatic language of the Messiah, some reflections arose and were expressed concerning the character and mission of the wonderful personage by whom they were spoken. The most highly favored servants of God among the prophets and apostles would not have dared to use such language in reference to themselves, but it seems to us to be dignified and appropriate, coming from the lips of the Son of God. We read in the Epistle to the Hebrews, that "God, who at sundry times and in divers manners spake in time past unto the fathers by the prophets, hath in these last days spoken unto us by His Son, whom He hath appointed heir of all things, by whom, also, He made the world."

In the person of Jesus Christ was a full manifestation of that Eternal Word which was in the beginning with God,

and was God. "In him was life, and the life was the light of men, even the true light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world. It pleased the Father that in him should all fulness dwell, and of his fulness have all we received and grace for grace." His soul was the temple of Deity; for he had a soul, as He declared, "My soul is exceeding sorrowful unto death,"—and that soul has not ceased to exist: but is now glorified in Heaven as the head or chief member of that spiritual body, the Church, which is made up of the faithful servants of God of all ages and nations.

He said to his disciples, "I am the vine, and ye are the branches, and my Father is the husbandman." Now the branches cannot be equal to the vine from which they draw their nourishment, nor can they have life any longer than they are united to the vine; so the members of the Church of Christ can only retain their vitality and bring forth fruit by their union with him through the influence of His life-giving spirit. It is only through obedience to this spirit of Divine grace in the soul, that we can experience the kingdom of Heaven, or reign of God, to be established within us, by which the carnal nature will be brought into subjection, and the spiritual birth brought forth, so that "being made partakers of the Divine nature" through the spirit of Christ, we can say Abba-Father.

It was evidently the design of the coming of Christ in the flesh "to bear witness to the Truth, and to bring life and immortality to light through the Gospel." This was the main purpose of his sublime discourses, his wonderful miracles, his patient sufferings and his triumphant resurrection. His wonderful work in healing the sick, cleansing the lepers, opening the eyes of the blind, unstopping the ears of the deaf, and raising the dead to life, were adapted

to the condition of people in that age, in order to confirm His doctrines. It was a great epoch in the history of the human race; for no event since the creation has been so important to man as the introduction of Christianity; therefore it is not unreasonable to believe that the mission of Christ was attested by miracles. He who created and controls the Universe can bestow upon his ministers and messengers a spiritual power superior to all natural laws; and even at this day He, through the spirit of Christ, performs in man greater works than the outward miracles of the Messiah. As he said to his disciples, "The works that I do shall ye do also, and greater works than these, because I go to my Father." To cleanse us from the leprosy of sin, to open our spiritual perceptions, to enable us to hear the Divine word, to raise the soul from the death of sin to the life of righteousness are more important and far more enduring works of Divine power than any outward miracles. We cannot save ourselves from a single sin or lust but as we turn to the principle of light and life in the soul, and rely upon it; avoiding all that we know to be wrong, and doing all that we see to be right. Our spiritual perceptions will improve, the light will become clearer to our vision, and we shall be led in a path that we have not known: a path of purity and self-denial. By this purifying process, through the operation of Divine grace, the natural man will be subdued, and we shall be enabled to love all mankind—even our enemies, which no man can do in the unregenerate state. It will become the chief desire and effort of the redeemed soul to promote the glory of God and the good of all mankind. The root of evil in the heart being eradicated, the true disciple of Christ cannot fight, nor enslave, nor oppress his fellow-men, but will follow the example of him who went about doing good. Through-

out the whole process of man's redemption the work will be performed in us by Divine power, as we yield obedience and co-operate therewith. Hence we can take no merit to ourselves, but unto "Him that worketh in us," must be ascribed "All honour and praise and glory forever."

After a pause, supplication was offered, a solemn and impressive silence prevailed, and the meeting concluded under the precious feeling of Divine life.

Sixth month, 11th, First-day.—Attended meeting at Purchase, West Chester County, New York. Through Divine favor, I was enabled to appear in the ministry with acceptance. In the afternoon we had an appointed meeting at Chappaqua. After sitting some time, the subject of Paul's conversion and previous life came before my mind, but not with a clear evidence of duty to speak of it. I think I rose too early, without sufficient qualification to speak, and after proceeding for awhile in a feeble manner, I found no life to go forward, and sat down rather abruptly. Under a sense of deep humiliation, I sat still for some time, and, a little light appearing, I rose again and gave a short exhortation on practical righteousness and spiritual devotion.

On leaving the meeting, my mind was brought into a state of deep humiliation from an apprehension that I had, through inadvertence or haste, burdened some feeling minds, and marred the work I was sent to accomplish. Feeling no strength to go forward nor any authority to appoint more meetings, I concluded to turn my face homeward, and attend by the way Haddonfield Quarterly Meeting in New Jersey.

13th.—Arrived at the house of our kind Friends, Isaac and Mary Lippincott.

14th.—Attended Quarterly Meeting of ministers and

elders. A solemn meeting, where I was favored to speak a word in season, which was attended with life, and brought peace to my own mind.

Sixth month, 15th.—Haddonfield Quarterly Meeting. In the meeting for worship my mind was brought into a state of solemn waiting upon God, and the remark of Agrippa to Paul, "Almost thou persuadest me to be a Christian," was brought before me as a subject for meditation. I felt no authority to speak on it, and, remaining in silent waiting, a query arose in my mind, "Why is it that we ministers of the Society of Friends quote so much Scripture to corroborate our doctrines?" On this subject I felt authority to speak, and was favored with an easy and continuous flow of ideas, which I endeavored to clothe in plain and simple language. The Scriptures I compared to a chart left for our guidance by the holy men of old, who had safely performed the voyage of life. In them we may find described the rocks and shoals where others have been wrecked, and the channels which lead to our destined port of eternal rest. But the chart without a compass would be of little avail, and the Bible without the inward monitor, which points to the polar Star of Truth, would not be sufficient for man's salvation. There is no saving power but that of God, who declared, through the mouth of his prophet, "I, even I, am the Lord, and besides me there is no Saviour." Some may query, Was not Jesus Christ a Saviour? Yes, we acknowledge him as a Saviour, for God dwelt in him, and wherever God is there is the Saviour. It pleased the father that in him should all fulness dwell, and of his fulness have all we received, and grace for grace."

The Apostle declares that Jesus was the first born among many brethren; that he is the head of the Church, the chief

member of that spiritual body which is made up of the faithful servants of God of all ages and nations. He declared himself "I am the vine, ye are the branches and my Father is the husbandman." Now, the branch does not bear the vine, but it is supported by the vine and derives its nourishment through the vine. May we therefore maintain our connection with the true vine by obedience to the manifestations of Divine grace, through which we may be renewed in the image of Him who created us. By this means the natural appetites and desires will become subjected, the spiritual nature developed in us, and that glorious change of heart perfected by which we may become heirs of God and joint heirs with Christ. The meeting was solemn and the evidence of Divine life and love seemed to prevail.

Our dear friend, Sarah Hunt, appeared in supplication with thanksgiving for the favors vouchsafed to us; and I came away rejoicing. The cloud of discouragement that had attended my mind for some days was removed, and I felt at liberty to appoint several meetings within the compass of Haddonfield Quarter.

17th.—We came to Riverton and staid with our beloved friend, Dillwyn Parrish.

18th.—Accompanied by Dillwyn Parrish, we attended meeting at Moorestown on First-day morning. It was a large meeting and a favored opportunity. In the afternoon we had an appointed meeting at Westfield, also a good time.

19th.—Had an appointed meeting at Evesham, in which we were blessed with the evidence of our Heavenly Father's love.

In the evening at 7½ o'clock had a meeting at Haddonfield. It was a season of Divine favor, for which I felt thankful.

20th.—We came to Burlington in company with our friend, D. Parrish, and called to see Stephen Grellet, an aged and well known minister of the gospel, who belongs to the other section of the Society of Friends. He is feeble in health, but cheerful and affable. I told him I had read of him in the "Life of Wm. Allen," and that I had felt a wish to become acquainted with him. He spoke very affectionately of his deceased friend, Wm. Allen, and alluded to their travels on the continent of Europe, their interviews with the Emperor Alexander of Russia, and other remarkable occurrences. I remarked that I had been informed of his visit to the Pope of Rome and the Inquisition of Italy and Spain. He then related many interesting and remarkable particulars concerning those visits which took place after Wm. Allen had left him. In the first place, he alluded to his intercourse with General or Admiral Maitland, the British commander in the Mediterranean, who, although he was considered an imperious and haughty man, had shown him especial favor. He had an interview with this officer at Corfu, who on being informed of his intention to visit Italy, had offered to send him in his own frigate, but the offer being declined on conscientious grounds, he then tendered to Stephen letters and despatches to some of the chief dignitaries of Italy. On Stephen's arrival at Rome, being furnished with letters to the Cardinal, who was then the Prime Minister of Pope Pius VII, he was permitted by this functionary to visit all the prisons of Rome, where he found much bad management and inhuman treatment of the prisoners. He noted down what he saw, and wrote some suggestions for a reformation of the prisoners. These suggestions were kindly received by the Cardinal, and measures taken to reform the abuses discovered. Stephen then asked him some

questions concerning the Inquisition. The Cardinal answered that it had been suppressed. Stephen replied, I have no doubt it is as thou sayest, but when I go home to America, how shall I assure my friends and others that it is discontinued unless I see it. The Cardinal said it was never visited by strangers, and it would be difficult to gain access to it, but he would endeavor to obtain permission. A few days afterwards permission was given to visit every part of it. He was accompanied through it by the Secretary of the Grand Inquisition.

There he saw the chambers where the victims of bigotry were imprisoned, the halls where they were tried, and some of the instruments of torture, but not many. In one room he was shown the books in which were recorded the trial, condemnation and punishment of the prisoners during several centuries. These books were like the Mercantile Day-book and Ledger, and seemed to be kept with great care. He was also shown the library of condemned books. It was a large collection, and in each book there was a statement of the grounds of its condemnation, with references to the obnoxious passages. The Inquisition was, I think, discontinued during the ascendency of the French in Italy and Spain, but afterwards revived when their forces were withdrawn. Stephen related to us his interview with the Pope, to whom he spoke plainly concerning the licentiousness prevailing in Rome and the lewdness of the clergy. He told him it was a reproach that such wickedness should abound in a city professing to be the religious Metropolis of the world. The Pope admitted the truth of the charge, and lamented his inability to remedy the evil. He said many persons supposed because he was Pope that he had absolute power, but it was not so. He received, without offence, the remarks that were made, and

Stephen feeling his mind drawn to address him in relation to his own spiritual condition, did so, and alluded to the remarkable vicissitudes he (the Pope) had experienced. On taking leave the Pope expressed his desire that his visitor might experience the Divine blessing and protection. This, I think, is the substance of the relation given to us by Stephen Grellet, in which we were deeply interested.

21st.—Accompanied by my friend, John Parrish, I called to see Richard Mott, who lives with his daughter-in-law near Burlington. He received us very cordially, and alluded pleasantly to the interview he had with me in New York. He and his daughter spoke of the pleasure their reading circle, last winter, derived from reading my "Life of Wm. Penn." He had not yet had an opportunity to read my "Life of George Fox," but intended to procure it. She said she much regretted to learn that it was defective on the doctrine of the atonement. I answered that they ought not to condemn it without examination, and alluded to the admission of Richard Mott in New York that the doctrine of Vicarious Satisfaction is not essential. He replied that the word vicarious was not used in the Scriptures, and queried what I understood by it.

I told him that I understood its sense as used in relation to the atonement to mean that Jesus Christ suffered as a substitute for us by bearing the punishment due to sin, which I thought was not stated in the Scriptures, neither the word vicarious nor the idea conveyed by its being found there. This was admitted by Richard Mott, but controverted by his daughter-in-law, who said the meaning was found in Scriptures if not the word. I stated my belief to be that the work of reconciliation is wrought in man in order to bring him into union with God, for there can be no change in Deity, and that the effect of Christ's suffer-

ings on the Cross, as well as the operation of His spirit in the souls of men, was and is to bring about this change of heart as declared by the Apostle, "God was in Christ reconciling the world unto Himself." To this view Richard Mott agreed, and said that the Deity is unchangeable. Some one present alluded to the criticism on my "Life of Fox," which appeared in *The Friend*, edited by Charles Evans, of Philadelphia. I then stated that I had shown the Dissertations on Doctrine to Thomas Evans before its publication. I stated, moreover, that Thomas had advised me to insert only extracts from the works of George Fox, omitting the inferences, although he appeared to assent to my summary of the doctrines in that essay.

On taking leave of Richard Mott he pressed us to return after meeting and dine with him, which did not suit our arrangements, and was therefore respectfully declined.

We attended Friends' meeting at Burlington in the forenoon, and in the evening had an appointed meeting at Mount Holly.

The former of these meetings was comfortable to my feelings, and the latter was crowned with the overshadowing of Divine goodness, in which I was enabled to deliver doctrine that I trust was owned by the witness for truth in the hearts of the audience.

After attending meetings at Rancocas, Old Springfield, and Chesterfield, we came to the city of Trenton. Our meeting there was attended by many not of our communion, and I trust I was furnished with ability to labor in the Master's cause, "rightly dividing the word of truth."

The subject that opened to my mind was the original and present state of man. He was created in the image of God, that is in a state of purity and uprightness, and he then enjoyed union and communion with his Creator.

But he was not intended to be so independent as to know of himself good and evil without Divine assistance, and when he presumed to be as a God knowing good and evil, setting up his own will above the Divine will, he became carnally-minded, which is death. In this fallen state he could not partake of the tree of life nor enjoy the happiness of Paradise, for the flaming sword turned every way to exclude him therefrom. This is still experienced by all who transgress the Divine law and become carnally-minded. The sword of the Spirit smites them, the reproofs of instruction are witnessed within them, and it is only by submitting to this sword which slays the carnal nature, that they can be restored to Paradise. The guilt of Adam is not transmitted nor imputed to any of his descendants, but we become sinners in the same way that he did, for "sin is the transgression of the law," and as in the case of infants, where there is no law there is no transgression.

This position was further confirmed by reference to the language of the Most High through the Prophet Ezekiel, "Ye shall no more have this proverb in Israel." "The fathers have eaten sour grapes and the children's teeth are set on edge," etc.

The object of Christ's coming and suffering in the flesh and the effect of his spiritual manifestation in the heart were opened, and an earnest invitation was extended to all present to embrace the offers of redeeming love, and devote their lives to the service of God.

Sixth month, 24th.—Parted with my dear friend John Smith, he being too unwell to proceed with me. This separation was a trial to us both, but I trust we can say the Lord's will be done. In company with my friend John Parrish, we came from Trenton to Burlington and called on Richard Mott, with whom we spent some hours and

dined. It was a satisfactory visit which I shall remember with pleasure.

25th.—Attended meeting in the morning at Bristol, in the afternoon at Byberry, and at night in Germantown. They were satisfactory, and in the first two especially I was, through Divine favor, furnished with matter I trust adapted to the states of the people. After attending Abington and Byberry Monthly Meetings, I felt that I had performed the service allotted me.

The following letter was addressed to my friend, Dillwyn Parrish, of Philadelphia.

EIGHTH MONTH, 25th, 1856.

"DEAR FRIEND:—Since I saw thee I have often thought of the suggestion thou offered, that I should undertake a history of the Society of Friends, and bring it down so as to include the Separation of 1827–8. Many years ago John Jackson suggested to me that I should write a history of the Separation, which I was then unwilling to attempt, thinking the time had not come, and more recently a history of the Society has been suggested to me by some of my friends. I feel that it would be a great undertaking, requiring research, labor and experience, and several years time for its accomplishment, yet upon reflection, it appears to me that some one ought to undertake it. The doctrines and testimonies of the Society are of great importance to the world, and I think the time will come when they will be more highly appreciated than they have ever yet been.

"The history of the Society should be not merely a detail of the disciplinary proceedings, with biographical sketches of its most prominent members, but a comprehensive statement of the rise and spreading of its testimonies, the development of its doctrines, and the influence they have exerted upon the world.

"I think I feel a growing interest and concern in relation to this matter. I have for many years endeavored to hold myself in readiness for any service that the arrangements of Divine Providence and the promptings of religious duty seemed to require of me. When my friend, S. S. Randall, of New York, suggested that a new "Life of

William Penn" was needed, and urged me to undertake it. I took it into consideration, and found it consistent with my sense of duty; but without his encouragement it is probable I should never have thought myself competent for the work. He also recommended the Life of Fox, as a subject for my pen, which coincided with my own judgment. Both works have been executed as a "labor of love," affording peace to my own mind and attended with the approbation of Friends.

"The work now proposed will be more difficult and laborious, and I shall not attempt it without the sympathy and encouragement of judicious Friends in your city.

Thy cordial friend,

S. M. JANNEY."

My friend, Dillwyn Parrish, consulted some Friends in Philadelphia in relation to the proposed work, which they desired me to undertake, and they offered to assist in obtaining material. The books and manuscripts in their possession were freely offered for my use, and they imported from London a large number of rare books, which, after I had used them, were placed in Friends' Library at Race Street meeting-house.

CHAPTER XIV.

1857.

Receives a minute to attend Ohio and Indiana Yearly Meetings, and to appoint and attend some meetings within their limits—Is taken with a hemorrhage from the lungs in Illinois—Attends meetings in much weakness—Reflections upon the state of the Society of Friends in the West—Salutations from London Yearly meeting read at the Representative Committee of Baltimore Yearly Meeting—A reply to it by him and some others—Some account of the life and death of his son John.

Eighth Month, 21st.—Having for some time past felt a religious concern to visit Ohio and Indiana Yearly Meet-

ings, and to appoint and attend some meetings within their limits, I obtained a minute of concurrence from our Monthly and Quarterly Meetings, and set out alone; but am to be joined in a few days by my daughter C. and my friend Elijah Holmes, who has agreed to be my companion on this journey.

Eighth Month, 23d.—Last evening I arrived at Brownsville in the stage, and was kindly received by my friends, Elisha Bennett and wife.

First-day morning I attended the usual meeting at Westland, about seven miles from Brownsville. Arriving a short time before the appointed hour, but little notice could be given, and the meeting was small. The Orthodox Friends of the Gurney party were at the same time holding a meeting in the other end of the house with nothing but a board partition between us. This circumstance, together with the dilapidated condition of the building, affected my mind with a feeling of gloom, but after sitting a considerable time, a sense of duty impelled me to rise and commence with these words, "Except the Lord build the house they labor in vain that build it; except the Lord keep the city the watchman walketh but in vain." As I proceeded there seemed to be some evidence of life, and I trust some impression of good was made. In the afternoon the meeting at Red Stone (near Brownsville) was attended by the few Friends there in connection with us, and by a considerable number of Wesleyans and others. I thought the life and love of the gospel were felt, and I felt the reward of peace.

Eighth Month, 26th.—At New Brighton, I mentioned to my friend, Edward Hoopes, my concern to hold a meeting for the citizens generally, and he procured the use of the Methodist meeting-house, as that of Friends is too

small and not favorably situated. A large number of different denominations attended, and soon after the meeting was gathered into stillness I made some remarks upon the subject of Divine worship, showing that the benefit to be derived from such opportunities depended upon the operation of Divine grace upon each individual, for it is not in the power of any minister, however gifted, to confer spiritual blessings which must be received immediately from the Head of the church. It is therefore the duty of all who are assembled for Divine worship to turn their attention to that ever-present Power who alone can aid us, and as we watch for the influences of His grace, waiting upon Him in humble reverence, we shall be enabled to see our own states and conditions, and being made sensible of our spiritual wants, the prayer of faith may be offered up, which is always acceptable in the Divine sight. After this introduction, the subject of Christ's Spiritual Kingdom was opened to my view, and I was enabled to show that the Rock on which it is founded is the immediate revelation of Divine Power in the soul—the same Holy Power which enlightened the mind of the Apostle and enabled him to say to the Divine Master, "Thou art the Christ the son of the living God."

The meeting, I thought, was brought under the solemnizing influence of Divine Power, and I trust many hearts were touched with a sense of the goodness and mercy of God, who wills not the death of the sinner, but that all should return, repent and live.

The next morning I took the cars and came to Columbiana, where I attended their stated meeting on Fifth-day. In the evening I came to Salem, Ohio, and the following day being joined by my companion Elijah Holmes, we went with Samuel Townsend to attend a meeting he had

appointed at New Lisbon. It was intended chiefly for persons who were members of our Society, but have been concerned with those who have taken the name of "Progressive Friends."

There being but few of them now in the neighborhood, the meeting was very small. Samuel Townsend was favored as I thought, to speak pertinently and feelingly to them, holding forth encouragement to come back into unity with the body, by a reliance upon that Divine Principle which we believe will guide into all truth. I followed him with a brief exhortation, showing that all true reformation and progress in the human family must proceed from within; and by the axe being laid to the root of the corrupt tree in the heart.

They seemed grateful and comforted with our labor of love, and we parted with them in Christian feeling.

29th.—Attended the Yearly Meeting of Ministers and Elders—a satisfactory time.

30th, First-day.—Meeting in the forenoon was large, and I thought a favored opportunity. I made a few remarks soon after it was gathered, intended to draw the attention of all to the only source of spiritual aid and to the great object of Divine worship. Samuel Townsend followed in a communication that was instructive and practical. In the afternoon meeting, which had been appointed at my request, I was exercised in gospel ministry, I trust, with some degree of that holy anointing which alone can qualify for the Lord's work.

Eighth month, 31st.—The Yearly Meeting was opened this morning, the epistles from other Yearly Meetings read, and a committee appointed to answer them.

In the evening, at a meeting of the Representative Committee, I spread before them a concern that I felt for the

circulation, among our members and other inquiring minds, of the writings of Friends for the promotion of Christian principles. It took hold of the Committee, a general concurrence was expressed, and another meeting appointed to consider it.

I attended the adjourned meeting, when the subject was further considered, and a general desire expressed that libraries of suitable books for imparting religious knowledge might be established within the compass of every Monthly meeting of Friends. It was concluded to recommend the subject to the favorable consideration of the Yearly meeting.

On the last day of the Yearly meeting the recommendation of the Representative Committee in relation to books was taken into consideration, and, being concurred in, it was referred to the Monthly meetings for their action, and the Representative Committee was requested to aid them.

During the several sittings of the Yearly meeting much harmony prevailed, the business was transacted in brotherly love, and many living testimonies were borne to the excellency of those Christian testimonies we are called upon to bear. Several members had for many years stood aloof, and absented themselves from meetings on account of the schism which took place some years ago, when those called Progressive Friends set up separate meetings. These Friends have not been disowned, or, at least, very few of them, and now being invited to attend the Yearly meeting some of them came and sat with us, much to our satisfaction, and I trust, also, to their benefit.

Immediately after the close of the Yearly meeting we left Salem, and I, with my daughter, came to Richmond, near which my sister Anna and her husband reside. After spending one night with them, I proceeded to Dublin,

eighteen miles, to attend Whitewater Quarterly meeting. It was held to my satisfaction, and I thought it a good meeting. The most interesting business before it was a proposition from Fall Creek Monthly meeting to modify a rule of discipline adopted last year by Indiana Yearly meeting authorizing Monthly meetings to cut off from membership, *without dealing with them*, those who are concerned in what are called spiritual manifestations, or professing to hold intercourse with the spirits of deceased persons. It is proposed to modify this rule, so as to labor with such to convince them of their error, and to reclaim them, as in all other cases of offences.

On the subject of dealing with offenders, I thought it right to make some remarks, showing that the great object of Christian discipline was to reclaim and restore rather than to cut off. We should treat offenders as a good surgeon treats a diseased limb,—using every effort to restore it to health, and not to amputate it so long as a hope of its restoration remains. The proposition was united with by the meeting, and sent up to the Yearly meeting on the minutes.

First-day, Ninth month, 6th.—Attended the stated meeting at Dublin in the forenoon, and an appointed meeting in the afternoon at Milton. In both these I spoke at considerable length, and came away from the former well satisfied, but in the latter I did not feel the current of Gospel life to flow so freely, nor was I entirely satisfied with my communication. I believe it was doctrinally correct, and several Friends expressed their unity with it, but I thought it had not enough of that unction from on High which alone can render religious services effectual.

There was another minister present, who spoke acceptably in the forenoon before I rose; but in the afternoon I

did not wait long enough for him, and rose before my mind was fully prepared for the work. He spoke afterwards, and I was engaged in vocal supplication, near the close of the meeting, which, I believe, had a solemnizing effect. I trust that the cause of Truth did not suffer much through me, and yet I fear it was not so effectually advanced as it might have been. May I be watchful in future, and humbly wait upon Him who putteth forth His own sheep and goeth before them.

Ninth month, 9th.—Feeling a religious concern to hold a meeting at Chester, near the residence of my sister, and being informed that most of the Friends in that neighborhood are of the class called Orthodox, I have thought it right to invite them to attend, and to apply for the use of their meeting house this afternoon. This application I have made the more willingly from the consideration that their ministers have frequently occupied our meeting house at Goose Creek, and that I was principally instrumental last autumn in obtaining for one of them the use of Lombard Street house, in Baltimore, at the time of our Yearly meeting. The use of the house was granted, and many of the Orthodox Friends sat with us.

The subject which presented itself to my mind was the universal brotherhood of man as expressed in Holy Writ: "Have we not one Father, and hath not one God created us?" As we are all the objects of His love and of His providential care, we ought to love one another; but we cannot fulfill this great duty until we comply with the first commandment, by loving the Lord our God with all the heart, mind and strength; then He will enable us to love our neighbor as ourselves. It is the nature of the unregenerate heart to be actuated by self-love, and to seek only its own gratification or aggrandizement. But the soul that

comes under the Divine government, and is regenerated by the sanctifying power of Divine grace, is actuated by the love of God, which induces it to love all men,—even those who are its enemies. The work of man's salvation is a work of God in the soul, for we cannot, without Divine assistance, redeem ourselves from one single sin or lust. And yet this great work will not be effected in us without our co-operation; for the Apostle says, "Work out your own savlation with fear and trembling." Nevertheless, he adds, "It is God that worketh in you both to will and to do of his good pleasure."

It was testified by George Fox that no man is justified any further than he is sanctified; for the Apostle places sanctification before justification; saying, "But ye are washed, but ye are sanctified, but ye are justified in the name of the Lord Jesus and by the spirit of our God." There both sanctification and justification are shown to be the effect of the same Divine power operating on the heart. The object of Christ's mission was to "bear witness to the truth," and to reconcile man to his God; for "God was in Christ reconciling the world unto Himself." And the Apostle Paul says, "We beseech you, therefore, as ambassadors for Christ, be ye reconciled to God." There can be no change in Deity—the change must be in man; and whenever the erring soul becomes, like the prodigal, sensible of its lost condition, and desirous to return to the Father's house, being willing to humble itself, to ask forgiveness, and to take the lowest place, the Father's love will be manifested, and He will rejoice over the returning sinner, saying, "This my son that was lost is found, and he that was dead is alive again." I thought it was a favored opportunity; and, so far as I know, the meeting was generally satisfactory.

Ninth month, 10th.—We had an appointed meeting at Newport in the afternoon, in the Wesleyan meeting house. But little notice had been given, and very few assembled. I thought for a good while that I should have no commission to say anything, but a little matter in relation to the spiritual law of Christ was presented, and, in a few brief remarks, I expressed it.

11th.—We came from Richmond to Chicago. This great city, numbering more than 100,000 inhabitants, has sprung up within a few years, and is now the mart of trade for a wide region of fertile country in Illinois and Iowa.

13th.—On First-day morning we had an appointed meeting at the house of our friend, Thomas Perdue, which was attended by thirty or forty persons, mostly members of our Society, or in some way connected with Friends. It was a satisfactory opportunity to me. In the evening we had a meeting appointed to be held in a large hall capable of seating several thousand persons. The audience appeared small, and perhaps did not exceed two hundred. I thought I was authorized to open some spiritual truths, and spoke, probably forty-five minutes; but I fear the impression made was not very deep.

14th.—We came to Sterling, in Illinois, and thence found a conveyance to the house of our friend, Mark Penrose, two miles from the town. Here I was taken with a hemorrhage from the lungs, brought on, as I suppose, by a severe cold which I had had for a week, and by too much exertion for the state of my respiratory organs. It was not very copious, but the spitting of blood continued a part of the day following, and was attended by other symptoms that indicated the necessity of care and rest.

15th.—We attended two appointed meetings; one in the forenoon in the mill of our friend, Joseph Wilson, the

other in the Court House at Sterling. They were to me satisfactory, and the latter was, I thought, attended by the over-shadowing of Divine goodness. Owing to the weak state of my lungs, I spoke deliberately and in a voice just sufficient to be audible to the meeting at large.

16th.—From Sterling we came to Mount Pleasant, in Iowa, by railroad. Most of the journey was through a prairie country, beautifully undulating and adorned with gorgeous wild flowers. A considerable part of the land was fenced along the road, and the corn crop was most luxuriant.

For the first time I crossed the great river Mississippi; which I regarded with emotions of deep interest and admiration.

18th.—We spent at Mount Pleasant, Iowa, and on the 19th proceeded to the neighborhood of Prairie Grove meeting, where we visited our friends who have recently removed thither from Virginia, and have established a Monthly meeting subordinate to Fairfax Quarter.

We met with a hearty welcome, and found them enjoying as many of the comforts of life as can be expected in a new country, much of which is still an uninclosed prairie. Harmony and love prevail among them, and they have a fair prospect to enjoy a sufficiency of the fruits of the earth from their rich soil and beautiful country.

First-day, Ninth Month, 20th.—We attended meeting in the forenoon at Prairie Grove, which was held in a school-house; but they expect soon to have a good meeting-house of their own. It was well attended, and after a season of solemn silence I was enabled to communicate some views which I trust were received in the love of the gospel. In the evening of the same day we had an appointed meeting in Mount Pleasant (twelve miles from Prairie Grove), held

in a Universalist Meeting-House. I was led to deliver a discourse on the importance of coming to a living experience of Divine truth by attentive obedience to its operation in the heart. For the knowledge of the only true God and of His Son, Jesus Christ, which is life eternal, can be obtained in no other way than by obedience to the law of the spirit of life in Christ Jesus which makes free from the law of sin and death. The doctrine of original sin was shown to be inconsistent with the Scriptures of truth, and the salvation of the soul was declared to be the work of Divine Power when co-operated with by those who accept the offers of redeeming love, and serve the Lord without reserve.

It was a large meeting, and I thought a solemnizing influence was felt to prevail.

On Second-day morning I left Mount Pleasant and parted with my companion, E. Holmes, who was going to visit his brother in the interior of Iowa. On coming to Peoria with a view to descend the river Illinois, and then to proceed to a Friends' settlement near Vermont, Fulton County, Ill., I found a boat, the captain of which said he would start next morning at 10 A. M. I concluded to go in the cars to Henry to visit some relatives and return next morning in time for the boat. While waiting for the cars, having nothing to do and being among strangers, I rode out to the Agricultural State Fair in the suburbs of the town; but I found no satisfaction in the exhibition; my mind was oppressed with a feeling of gloom, and I became fully convinced that it was not the place for me while engaged on a religious visit. After visiting my friends at Henry, I returned to Peoria and went to the steamboat at the appointed hour, but the captain said he should not go till the next day, and on further inquiry I was informed

that he had no intention of going for several days; but had made arrangements to stay during the fair. This was a disappointment, and led me to reflect seriously whether I should wait for another conveyance or proceed homeward. I concluded to wait, and during the interval was accosted in the street by a stranger who proved to be a Friend named James Ivins. He invited me to his house, where I found others who were members of our Society. Being thus detained, I came to the conclusion that it would be right to hold a meeting in Peoria that evening, and a house being procured and notice spread, a small company assembled. It was not so satisfactory as I could have wished, but I trust no harm was done, and if I erred in any particular it was not intentionally.

23d.—To-day I have been travelling towards the settlement of Friends in Fulton Co. My mind has been more than usually depressed. May the Author of all good enlighten me to see clearly His will and enable me to do it faithfully.

24th.—Attended a meeting at Friends' meeting-house near Ipava. The Friends in this vicinity are sufficiently numerous to keep up a meeting, but many have become lukewarm, some are deluded with Spiritualism, so-called, and the discipline for several years past has been neglected or contemned, until the meeting has dwindled away, and is now held only on the First-day of the week. The house was tolerably well filled, and my mind was impressed with a sense of the condition of some present who were neglecting the highest interests of the soul and rebelling against their convictions of duty by devoting themselves exclusively to temporal things. I was led to make a sharp expostulation with these, and to set forth the necessity of turning to the Lord with the whole heart while the day of

His merciful visitations is extended, lest the heart become callous and the eye of the mind blinded by long continued disobedience.

Near the close of the meeting I felt a concern for those members of the Society who were present, and from a sense of duty exhorted them to keep to the faith and the doctrines held by our worthy predecessors, avoiding all those seductive influences which would lead them astray. I also recommended the reading of the Scriptures and an adherence to the rules of our excellent discipline. It was to me a satisfactory meeting, and I trust that a good impression was made on the minds of many.

Indiana Yearly Meeting being near at hand, I was under the necessity, in order to attend it, to travel night and day in the cars, and reached Richmond just in time; but the fatigue of the journey, the loss of rest and the weak state of my lungs rendered me incapable of entering fully into the exercises of the meeting of Ministers and Elders, which I attended in much weakness.

In the public meeting on First-day several living testimonies were borne to the sufficiency of that Divine Power which is always present with us, and ready to save those who obey it. I had a share in these exercises, and notwithstanding my bodily infirmity, was enabled to bear witness to the truth.

On Second-day the Yearly Meeting was opened and the epistles from other Yearly Meetings read.

The most interesting business which came before us was a proposition from White Water Quarterly Meeting, to modify a rule of discipline adopted last year, in relation to those of our members who are concerned in Spiritualism, so-called. The proposed modification was intended to place such members on the same ground as other offenders,

so far as to have them admonished and efforts made to reclaim them before they are disowned. Two ministers who are very prominent in the Yearly Meeting, opposed the modification, and contended strenuously that there was nothing in the rule adopted last year to prevent such persons being dealt with as other offenders. I made some remarks on Christian discipline, showing that the first object to be sought in all cases was to reclaim and restore the offender, and quoted the language of George Fox, where he says, "Let no testimony by way of condemnation be given forth against any man or woman, whatever crime they commit, before admonition and until such times as they have had gospel order according to Christ's doctrines."

I concluded by asking that the rule of discipline adopted last year might be read. It was accordingly read, when it appeared clear to most Friends to contain the objectionable feature complained of, and a minute was made modifying or explaining it, so as to allow Monthly Meetings to deal with such persons as with other offenders. At a subsequent sitting a proposition was sent in from Women's Meeting expressing the same sentiment, more explicitly, which was concurred in and directed to be inserted in the Book of Discipline.

The Yearly Meeting concluded on Fifth-day, having had but one session on each of the three days, and a public meeting for worship on Fourth-day. It was considered very satisfactory, and I trust that the cause of Truth has been advanced.

After the close of the Yearly Meeting I met with a minister of the Orthodox branch, which is now sitting at Richmond. After some very friendly conversation with him and another of their members living in Richmond, I

informed them that I had felt a concern to sit with some of their members, and had had one meeting among them to my own satisfaction. I also stated that I felt a drawing to have another meeting with them if way was open for it. They expressed much doubt whether such a meeting would be agreeable to their leading members; but one of them undertook to mention the subject and ascertain. He afterwards informed me that it was not approved, but the sentiment was expressed among them that we should come to them and not they to us.

On Sixth-day evening, at seven o'clock, I had an appointed meeting in Friends' Meeting House at Richmond, but the weather being unfavorable the house was not quite full. I was enabled to express some views which were presented to my mind; but I thought the life and power of the Gospel were not so fully manifested as at some other times. I came away from the meeting not dissatisfied, but humbled under a feeling of my own weakness and insufficiency.

On the First-day following, we attended meeting at Cincinnati, and notice having been given, the house was filled with an attentive audience, most of whom were not members of our religious Society. After a season of waiting upon the Lord, during which my secret petitions were put up for His blessing and guidance, I felt the stream of Divine life to arise, and was enabled, I trust, to minister in the ability that God giveth. It was a precious and solemn meeting, in which the tendering and baptizing influence of Divine love was felt to abound, and I could thankfully ascribe to the Author of All Good the praise and the glory of His own work.

From Richmond to Cincinnati we were accompanied by my dear sister, Anna Lupton, who resides near Rich-

mond. The time I have spent with her and other near relatives during this journey will long be remembered with satisfaction.

From Cincinnati we came to Waynesville, Warren County, Ohio, where I have a number of relatives residing. We spent about a day and a half in social visits among them, and left in time to attend the usual mid-week meeting at Green Plain.

The subject of appointing a meeting for Divine worship at Waynesville had been revolved in my mind some days before our arrival there, but I could find no authority to do it, and was so strongly drawn homeward that I did not feel bound to wait for their usual meeting day.

After attending the meeting at Green Plain, we came immediately home, where we arrived the 9th of the Tenth month, having been absent fifty days, during which I travelled about 2,700 miles, and attended forty-one meetings, including the several sittings of the Yearly Meetings of Ohio and Indiana.

Throughout the journey I have thankfully to acknowledge the protecting care and sustaining aid of my Heavenly Father, who, I believe, called me to labor in His vineyard, and, if any good has been done, to Him alone be the praise.

After returning from my Western journey, I resumed my duties as Principal of the boarding-school at Springdale, and in the latter part of the Tenth month attended our Yearly Meeting in Baltimore. It was a season of Divine favor.

At our meeting for Sufferings, a printed document from London Yearly Meeting, entitled "A Salutation in the Love of Christ to All Who Bear the Name of Friends," was introduced and read.

My friend, B. Hallowell, united with me in thinking that this furnished a favorable opening for us to address a friendly reply to the Meeting for Sufferings of London. Several other Friends agreed with us in sentiment, and a few persons were named to bring to our next meeting an essay for that purpose. We accordingly presented a paper drafted by B. Hallowell, which was very satisfactory to the meeting; but several Friends objected to any communication being sent, inasmuch as the London "Salutation" was not addressed to us as a body, but as individuals. They were willing that any of us who felt the concern should address an answer to the Friends in London on our individual responsibility; but they would not consent for the meeting to take any action upon it.

We found it best to withdraw the paper, as it could not be sent forward in unity; and a few of us concluded to sign and forward it in our individual capacity.

1858, Third month, 22nd.—It is this day two weeks since we experienced the greatest affliction that has yet attended us. My eldest son, John, has been removed by death, and I now feel a void that, it seems to me, never can be filled.

From his early youth he has been the comfort and joy of his parents. Always dutiful and affectionate; industrious in his habits, diligent in his studies, conscientious and exemplary in his conduct, attentive to his religious duties, and, I believe, a sincere seeker of Heavenly truth. He read the Scriptures frequently, and was a regular attender of our religious meetings. He was in the thirty-second year of his age, and had been for more than ten years past my intimate and sympathizing companion. His understanding was naturally vigorous, and, being enriched by study and reflection, he manifested a maturity of intellect beyond his years.

Some time during the year 1855 he took a severe cold, which settled on his lungs, and a distressing cough ensued, resulting in severe hemorrhages. As soon as he recovered from them sufficiently to travel, his mother and I went with him to the Red Sulphur Springs, a distance of three hundred and fifty miles. The journey and the healing qualities of the water produced a remarkable effect, and he returned greatly improved in health. For some months we had reason to hope that his health would ultimately be restored, but in the autumn of 1857 he took another cold, which was followed by chills, and we felt much apprehension that his lungs were diseased beyond recovery. My daily visits at his house are treasured in my memory as seasons of precious enjoyment; but how often on leaving that abode of peace and love has my heart sunk within me at the thought that the time was probably near at hand when we must resign him who was the object of our fond solicitude and increasing love.

On the 7th of the Third month he was taken much worse, and when our physician arrived he told me that John could last but a little while unless he got relief. Upon the dear sufferer being asked if he felt the Divine power to be near him, as he was passing through the valley of the shadow of death, he answered: "Oh, yes, yes! He is merciful."

At his bedside I offered up a prayer to the Father of Mercies, whose holy power was present to sustain the parting soul. His dear wife, who sat nearest to him, heard him in prayer, and, bending her ear towards him, she distinguished the words, "My Saviour, take me to Thyself. Be merciful, and hear my prayer." These were the last words that were understood. He closed his eyelids with his own hand, then dropped his hand upon his breast, and ceased to breathe.

I have no doubt his purified spirit has gone to Heavenly rest, and now is in the company of the "Spirits of just men made perfect," where they "join in adoration and praise to the Lord God and to the Lamb."

We feel that we ought to be thankful to the Author of All Good for the gift of such a son so uniformly good from his infancy,—so beloved of all who knew him. It is, however, a trying dispensation, which nothing short of Divine aid can enable us to support with becoming resignation.

Eighth month, 28th, 1858.—Since our great bereavement, in the death of our dear son, I have felt less ability than usual for attending to temporal business, and yet I feel assured that it is best to make an effort to perform all my duties.

In the early part of this month I performed, with the approbation of our Monthly Meeting, a religious visit to the meetings composing Hopewell Monthly Meeting, and appointed meetings in various places. In this service I was accompanied by our friend, Rebecca Price, and my daughter Cornelia.

We attended twelve meetings, all of which were satisfactory, and some of them were seasons of peculiar favor, in which we were enabled, through Divine aid, to experience and declare to others the baptizing power of Heavenly Truth.

In looking back upon this little journey, I feel peace of mind, and remember with much satisfaction many precious seasons of Divine favor.

May I always bear in mind the unmerited blessings I have enjoyed, and may I stand resigned to every dispensation of Divine Providence, remembering that He who gave has a right to take away, and to dispose of me according to His holy will.

CHAPTER XV.

1859–60.

Visit to Warrington and other Meetings belonging to that Quarter—Attends Philadelphia and New York Yearly Meetings, and some Meetings composing them—Journey to Eastern Shore of Maryland.

1859, First month, 1st.—Another year has passed away,—a year that has been rendered memorable to me by affliction and bereavement; but through the condescending mercy of my Heavenly Father I have been sustained, and, at many times, comforted with His holy presence and life-giving power.

Oh! thou gracious and ever present Saviour! Be pleased still to be with me through life, enabling me, more and more, to devote myself to Thy service, and when it shall please Thee to call me hence, may I, through Thy grace, be prepared for the change, and strengthened through Thy power to pass through the Valley of the Shadow of Death, fearing no evil, and confiding in Thy mercy. Thou seest all my thoughts, Thou knowest all my motives; be pleased, through the operation of Thy holy spirit, to cleanse my heart from all evil; that my affections may be set on Heavenly things, and my life devoted wholly to Thee and to Thy cause of righteousness and Truth.

Having for some time past felt a religious concern to attend Warrington Monthly Meeting in York County, Pa., I opened the prospect in our Monthly Meeting, and received a minute of concurrence, dated Seventh month, 1859. The same day, being accompanied by my friend,

Jesse Hoge, who has lately appeared in the Gospel ministry, we set out on our journey, and proceeded to Waterford. The next evening we reached Pipe Creek, where our friend, William Shepherd, agreed to accompany us.

On Seventh-day evening we reached the neighborhood of Warrington, and, notice being spread, there was on First-day morning a considerable number of Friends and others assembled at the Meeting House. I was enabled, through Divine aid, as I trust, to open to them some important truths relating to the soul's salvation, and the Lord's power was felt to be near us, by which our hearts were bowed in reverence before Him.

In the afternoon of the same day we attended an appointed meeting at Newberry, about ten miles distant, and were favored with a solemn and instructive season of Divine worship. The meetings of Friends in these two places had for several years been declining. Some of the members had become disaffected towards the Society, and all were discouraged or lukewarm; so that very few had been attending any of their meetings, and no meetings for discipline had been held among them for eleven months.

We immediately began a series of family visits to Friends of Newberry and Warrington meetings; and in the course of four days sat with nearly all of them in their own houses —being about twenty-two families. The country being hilly, the roads rough, and the families scattered at a considerable distance from each other, the service was laborious. But we were favored with the Divine Master's presence, and, through His grace, counsel and encouragement were administered suited to their conditions.

On Fifth-day we attended the Monthly Meeting at Warrington, which had been discontinued since the Eighth

month last year. In the meeting for worship the baptizing power of Divine truth was experienced to be with us, and many hearts were greatly tendered under its influence. In the meeting for discipline there were about a dozen of each sex present, to whom suitable counsel was given in relation to the importance of attending to their religious duties in preference to all temporal concerns.

It was shown, however, that our temporal business and our religious duties do not conflict with each other; for there is a time for all things; and if we seek first the kingdom of God and his righteousness, all things needful will be added. And moreover, we have the assurance that godliness is profitable for all things, having the promise of the life that now is and that which is to come.

The members being called upon to express their sentiments in regard to keeping up their meetings, nearly all of them rose in succession, expressing a desire for their continuance, and a willingness to make a renewed effort to maintain them.

The result of our labors among them was encouraging and satisfactory. If any good has been done, to Him be the praise whose Divine word sustained our feeble efforts.

On Sixth-day, in the forenoon, we had an appointed meeting at Huntingdon, and in the afternoon, after riding twelve miles, attended one at Monallen Meeting House. These were both favored and satisfactory meetings, being accompanied with the solemnizing influence of Divine love and life.

On Seventh-day, we came about forty miles to Pipe Creek, where we attended meeting on First-day in the forenoon, and in the afternoon we rode sixteen miles to an appointed meeting at Bush Creek Meeting House, near Newmarket. These meetings were large, there being many

present of other religious persuasions, and the Lord of life and glory was pleased to manifest His presence by the breaking of bread. The doctrines preached were chiefly of a practical nature, showing that Christianity is the manifestation of Divine life in the souls of men, to purify and redeem them from all iniquity, and to introduce them into the glorious liberty of the children of God.

On Second-day, the 25th of Seventh month, we returned to our homes with thankful hearts and the reward of peace. My companion, Jesse Hoge, during this journey was a truly sympathizing friend, and his mouth was opened a few times in Gospel ministry to my great satisfaction.

1860, Fifth month, 3rd.—Having obtained a minute of unity from our Monthly Meeting to attend the Yearly Meetings of Philadelphia and New York, and to attend and appoint meetings on the way, going and returning, I set out, accompanied by my friend Jesse Hoge as companion.

Fifth month, 6th.—At Deer Creek, in Harford County, Maryland, we attended their meeting on First-day morning, and had an appointed meeting in the afternoon at Broad Creek Meeting House.

They were satisfactory and comfortable meetings. At the house of my brother-in-law, Joseph H. Jewett, we found a very pleasant home, and the conversation of my dear sister Tacy was cheering and encouraging.

In Philadelphia we staid at the house of my kind cousin John Saunders, where I always make my home when in that city.

7th.—Attended Philadelphia Quarterly Meeting of ministers and elders.

8th.—The Quarterly Meeting was satisfactory. During the season of public Divine worship we were favored to draw nigh to the Fountain of Life, and to partake of the

healing waters. I was engaged in ministry, briefly, but I believe to the satisfaction of my friends.

9th and 10th.—Attended Abington Quarterly Meeting, which was a season of Divine favor.

Fifth month, 12th.—The Yearly Meeting of ministers and elders was satisfactory, my lot being mostly that of a silent watchman.

13th.—On First-day morning we attended the meeting for worship on Race Street. It was a very large congregation, and I found it my duty to declare the riches of Divine love as manifested in the coming of Christ in the flesh and in the spirit. Referring to his reading in the synagogue the prophecy of Isaiah concerning himself, as being anointed by the spirit of the Lord to preach the Gospel to the poor, to heal the broken-hearted, to preach deliverance to the captives, and the "opening of the prison doors to them that are bound," I pointed out the effect of his mission to restore the lost, to comfort the afflicted, and to reform the world. Not only was his power manifested during the days of his personal ministry, but also after His resurrection, through the ministry of his Apostles; for he ascended up on high, led captivity captive, and gave gifts to man.

Peter, when speaking by Divine inspiration on the Day of Pentecost, refers to the mediation of Christ, saying, "He being by the right hand of God exalted hath shed forth this which we now see and hear." He who had been with them in the flesh had then come in the spirit, and he promised to be with them to the end of the world. We believe in his spiritual appearance as a life-giving power that redeems the obedient soul, and to this we call the attention of the people as to "a rock disallowed indeed of men, but chosen of God, and precious."

In the evening we attended the meeting at Green Street, which was satisfactory. It was my lot to be silent, except in supplication at the close, and I thought the Lord's presence was felt among us.

On Second-day, the 13th, the Yearly Meeting was opened, and continued its sittings until Sixth-day. There was a large attendance of Friends, and much interest manifested by the younger part of the Society, which was encouraging. There appears to me to be much vitality in Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, and a freedom of expression that I have not seen so fully manifested elsewhere. There is, however, on the part of some active spirits a want of proper qualification to take part in its proceedings, which renders their communications burdensome to the living members of the body.

Even some who stand as accredited ministers are so unwatchful or unskilful that they sometimes mar the work they desire to promote by unseasonable or unwarranted communications. I endeavored to show the propriety of keeping to the point, directing our attention to the subject under consideration, and expressing our concern as concisely and clearly as possible. In these solemn meetings we should wait for wisdom from above, watch over our own spirits, and seek only to promote the good of the body and the glory of God.

On First-day, the 20th of Fifth month (my companion having gone home), I attended the meeting at Gwynedd in the morning to satisfaction.

In the afternoon I had an appointed meeting at Plymouth, which was rather laborious, there being, as I thought, a want of spiritual life. My friend, Joel Lare, a lively and excellent minister, residing there, followed me in a brief communication.

At night I had an appointed meeting at Norristown, which was largely attended by persons not in membership with us. It proved to be an open and satisfactory meeting, in which, I trust, the Word of life was felt as a quickening spirit in our midst. The chief subject of my communication was in answer to the question, "What is Quakerism?" showing that the principles professed by Friends are the same as primitive Christianity, and that the religion of Christ is a life-giving power revealed in the soul to redeem us from all evil, and introduce us into the glorious liberty of the children of God.

21st.—Returned to the city of Philadelphia.

22nd.—Went to Byberry, and staid at the house of Nathaniel Richardson, accompanied by my friend Daniel Walker, who purposes going with me to New York.

23rd.—Accompanied by N. Richardson and D. Walker, I attended meeting at Falsington, where I was engaged in Gospel ministry. Andrew Dorland, of New York, was also present, and spoke to edification. Our ancient friend, Samuel Comfort, was present, and appeared in a lively testimony. It was a solemn and satisfactory meeting. We spent part of the afternoon at Samuel Comfort's, and enjoyed his instructive conversation.

In the afternoon we went to Bristol, where an evening meeting was appointed for me. It was a season of Divine favor, in which, I trust, the Gospel was preached to the edification and comfort of many.

25th.—Attended a meeting at Byberry at the usual hour, and in the evening an appointed meeting at Trenton. Through Divine aid I was enabled to address the people on the doctrines of life and salvation by Christ, showing that as in the time of his personal advent, he healed the diseases of the body and raised the dead to life, so in his

inward and spiritual manifestation now, as the life and power of God, he heals the maladies of the soul, cleanses from the leprosy of sin, and raises from spiritual death to a life of holiness.

The meetings were both favored with the evidence of Divine life.

Fifth month, 26th.—Arrived in New York, and found a pleasant home at the house of our friend Josiah Macy.

27th.—Attended Yearly Meeting of ministers and elders.

28th.—On First-day morning attended meeting for worship at Twenty-seventh Street. It was a large and interesting meeting. I was enabled to speak, with a satisfactory evidence of the holy anointing, on the doctrines of life and salvation, showing what it is that constitutes the Christian, which was illustrated by reference to the life of the Apostle Peter. After he had been called to preach the doctrine of repentance, and had, through Divine revelation, acknowledged Jesus to be the Christ, the son of the living God, he was, through unwatchfulness, induced to deny his Master, and he took up the sword, and cut off the ear of the high priest's servant, being at that time not fully acquainted with the spiritual nature of Christ's kingdom. But after he was, on the Day of Pentecost, baptized with the holy spirit, he became a new man in Christ, being made willing to suffer for the truth, and endued with power from on high which enabled him to follow in the footsteps of his Divine Master. Rebecca Price followed in a lively exhortation, and our friend, John Hunt, preached the Gospel with authority.

In the afternoon I attended meeting at Brooklyn, where I was engaged in Gospel ministry to my own peace of mind, believing that our holy Helper was with us.

Fifth-day, Fifth month, 31st, 1860. The Yearly meeting

took into consideration the propriety of furnishing better accommodations for its annual sittings, and a committee was appointed to consider the subject and report in the afternoon. When this matter was thus disposed of, I opened to the meeting some views that had impressed my mind in relation to the education of youth. Seeing that a very large proportion of our members are such by birth right it is obvious that the prosperity of the body is greatly dependent upon the guarded religious education of Friends' children, and not only parents, but the Society itself has a responsible duty to perform towards them. Believing as we do that all the gifts of our beneficent Creator are intended to be improved, it appears evident that intellectual faculties should be devoloped and invigorated by a suitable education; but more especially should the moral and spiritual condition of the young be carefully attended to, by parents and by Friends, whose religious experience has qualified them to instruct others. In this great city there are many youths and young men who have come from the country to obtain business, being separated from their relatives and exposed to many temptations, they need the care and sympathy of their elder brethren, who might confer upon them a lasting benefit by timely notice and kind attentions. I alluded to the example of Peter Bedford of London who made it his especial care to invite such young men frequently to his house, and by kindly intercourse with them encouraged them to pursue the path of duty. Addressing the young men present I endeavored to set before them the duty of devoting their hearts, early in life, to the service of God, as the only means of fulfilling the great end of their being; securing their own well being here and preparing them for eternal happiness hereafter. I felt that I was in this communication, assisted by Divine favor

and the meeting appeared to be brought into a state of precious solemnity.

Several Friends followed in confirmation of these views, and some of the younger members not much accustomed to speaking in meeting, expressed their deep sense of the importance of a guarded, religious education, which they thought the Yearly Meeting could promote by the establishment of a school or schools for the instruction of youth in membership with us. The subject was left for the further consideration of the meeting, with the understanding, that it might be revived at another sitting. In the afternoon the committee appointed to consider the subject of better accomodation for the Yearly Meeting, made a report recommending the building of a new meeting house in the city, which was united with by the meeting.

A deputation from the Women's Meeting informed us that they had the subject of education before them, and having appointed a committee to consider it they requested the co-operation of men Friends. The Men's Meeting being prepared by the consideration of the same subject in the previous sitting entered into the concern, and appointed a committee to unite with that of the Women's Meeting.

An evening meeting for worship having been appointed for Rebecca Price and myself at Jersey City, we left the Yearly Meeting a short time before its adjournment, and crossed the Hudson to attend it. It was held in the Lyceum Hall and proved to be a satisfactory opportunity.

On Sixth-day evening (Sixth month 1st,) accompanied by my friend Daniel Walker, I went to Chatham, Columbia County, New York.

At the house of our friend John Coffin, I found a warm welcome, and spent two days in the neighborhood very pleasantly. On First-day we attended Friends' meeting at

Chatham, and at night had an appointed meeting in a Methodist meeting house at East Chatham. I thought they were seasons of Divine favor and deep solemnity, and to Him who alone can help us I desire to ascribe the praise.

1860, Eighth month, 24th.—Having obtained from our Monthly Meeting a Minute of concurrence with my prospect to pay a religious visit to Friends of the Southern and Baltimore Quarterly Meetings and to appoint some meetings within their limits, I took leave of my family and proceeded to Baltimore. In that city I called on my esteemed friend John Needles, who, I found, had a concern to attend the Southern Quarterly Meeting, and I gladly accepted his company.

On Seventh-day, the 25th, we took passage in a steamboat and crossed the bay to the Eastern Shore. On our way we touched at West River, and John Needles pointed out to me the site where Friends' Meeting House formerly stood, but it has long since gone to decay and none of our Society are now found in this neighborhood, where the Yearly Meeting was held in early times.

It is said that the slave ships were in those days anchored in the harbor at West River, and Friends, after attending Yearly Meeting, would sometimes go on board to select slaves for their plantations. How thankful we should feel that our ancestors were, through Divine grace, afterwards enabled to see the iniquity of that practice, and to relinquish it at a time when almost all others were involved in it, and apparently unconscious of its enormous wickedness. If individuals and communities would watch for the discoveries of Divine light and follow the guidance of the Good Shepherd, He would lead them out of all evil and preserve them in the paths of purity and peace. On reaching Miles River bridge we landed at a place not far

distant from Betty's Cove, where the first Friends' Meeting house in this vicinity; was located the distance from Betty's Cove to Third Haven Creek (formerly called Trade Haven) is very short, probably not exceeding a mile or two. The great meeting attended by George Fox, John Burnyeat and other ministering Friends in 1672, must have been held at Betty's Cove, or in a temporary building, as the meeting house at Third Haven was not built until about ten years afterwards, but meetings were sometimes held at John Edmundson's house, on the farm from which the meeting house lot at Third Haven was taken in 1682.

Third-day, Eighth month, 26th.—We attended Third Haven meeting, which was small. It was however comfortable, in which my companion spoke acceptably, and I was engaged in a brief communication.

On Second-day I found interesting employment in examining the old Records of the Monthly and Quarterly Meetings, commencing in the year 1676. Friends in those early times, though zealous for the cause of Truth, had their difficulties and short-comings as well as we of this generation. The general standard of morality was lower then than it is now in the community at large, and Friends being extremely particular, and perhaps rigid, in dealing with offenders, their records show many delinquencies.

On Third-day we attended the meeting of Ministers and Elders.

On Fourth-day, the 29th of Eighth month, the Southern Quarterly meeting was held. It appeared to me small, but I thought some of the ministers in attendance were favored with Divine life; for myself, I found but little ability to speak of the things of God.

In the evening I had an appointed meeting in Easton, which was attended by many not in membership with us.

I was favored with ability to declare the truths of the everlasting Gospel, showing the spirituality of the Christian dispensation, and the necessity of being washed in the laver of regeneration. Our friend Samuel Townsend, of Baltimore, followed in a lively communication, and the meeting was concluded with vocal supplication.

On Fifth-day, the 30th, a youth's meeting was held, as usual, at the meeting house. The service fell chiefly on me, and the subject that was opened to my mind and declared to the people, related to the call, qualification and compensation of ministers of the Gospel. It was shown that the call to this solemn service and the qualification for it must come from God, who prepares the vessels for His use by the washing of regeneration and renewing of the Holy spirit; and makes impressions upon the minds of his ministers by which they are led, from a sense of duty, to speak of those things which "their eyes have seen and their hands have handled of the word of life." As the call and qualification are spiritual, so also is the compensation; for he who hands forth to others the bread which Christ hath blessed, partakes of the fragments that are left and is abundantly rewarded by the Head of the church without looking to man for reward.

The laborer is worthy of his hire, but the gospel minister being employed by the Divine Master, looks to Him and not to man for his hire, which is peace of mind and assurance of Divine favor.

The meeting was solemn, and it was thought to be a season of Divine visitation.

Sixth-day, the 31st of Eighth month.—We crossed the river Choptank into Caroline County, and attended an appointed meeting at Snow Hill Meeting House, near the town of Preston.

It was a full meeting, being attended by many of the Methodists, who sat in a solid and attentive manner while I was engaged in declaring the doctrine of salvation through Christ, as an inward and spiritual deliverer from the bondage of corruption.

Seventh-day, the 1st of Ninth month.—We attended an appointed meeting at Pine Grove. There are but few Friends belonging to this meeting, but many Methodists attended, and among them were two of their ministers.

My companion was first called into service, and delivered a lively testimony showing the necessity of attending to small things when required of us as a religious duty, which he illustrated by reference to the command to Naaman to wash seven times in Jordan for the cleansing of his leprosy, which he at first thought was too small a thing to effect so great a cure.

I was then led to declare the goodness and power of God in the redemption of man from the dominion of sin, referring to the words of the Divine Master: "The works that I do shall ye do also, and greater works than these, because I go to my Father.". He, indeed, through the power of God dwelling in him, cast out demons, healed diseases and raised the dead; but these great works being performed on the bodies of men were temporary in their character, whereas the works wrought by the same Divine power upon the soul,—healing its diseases and raising it from death to life,—are permanent, and if we continue faithful, will endure forever.

It was a precious meeting, and concluded in fervent prayer and thanksgiving to the Author of all good.

First-day, Ninth month, 2nd.—We attended Centre Meeting in the forenoon. It is usually very small, but notice being given, the house was full. Several of the

young men behaved rudely, and there seemed to be an insensibility in the audience which was hard to overcome. We both labored in the ability given us, and had some pretty close doctrine to declare among them, but we fear it had but little effect on most of the company. In the afternoon we attended an appointed meeting at Denton, in the Court House. It was a large, attentive audience, and we thought the power of Divine truth was felt to prevail among us. Our friend Samuel Townsend being there, had a lively communication to deliver, and I was led to set forth the sufficiency of Divine grace to save the soul, showing the meaning of the Apostolic declaration: "The letter killeth, but the Spirit giveth life." The Scriptures, though the best letter that ever was written, are not of themselves sufficient to guide us in the way of holiness, for the rebellious Jews had the Scriptures and searched them, but they would not come to Christ that they might have life.

Second-day, the 3rd of Ninth month.—We had an appointed meeting at night in Friends' Meeting House, at Camden, Delaware. It was well attended and proved to be a season of Divine favor. I have seldom felt a deeper solemnity than that which prevailed over the audience during the communications we felt called upon to make, and at the close the wing of Divine goodness seemed to spread over the assembly.

Third-day, the 4th.—In the forenoon we attended a meeting at Little Creek. It was small and composed chiefly of the few Friends who reside in the neighborhood, but it was satisfactory.

At night we had an appointed meeting in Friends' Meeting House at Smyrna. Only one family of Friends resides in the place, and there had not been a Friends' meet-

ing held there for two years. The stated meeting formerly held at this place has been discontinued for many years. Our meeting was not large, but ability was afforded to open many important doctrines, and especially that of the true foundation—the Rock of Ages—on which the church of Christ is founded.

It is the same spiritual rock, as Paul testifies, that the Israelites drank of in the wilderness, being "Christ,"—the manifestation of Divine life and power.

Fourth-day.—We had an appointed meeting in the morning at Odessa. There are but few Friends here, and the meeting was very small but satisfactory. In the evening we had an appointed meeting at Millington, in Friends' Meeting House, that has been for many years shut up, there being no Friends in the town.

It was a crowded meeting, many of the audience being young people to whom the word of life was preached with freedom, and, I thought, with acceptance.

Fifth-day, the 6th of Ninth month.—We attended Cecil Meeting, in Kent County, Maryland. The number in attendance was small, there being but few Friends here, and other people not disposed to attend in the day time except on First-day. After the meeting for worship, a meeting for discipline was held, in which the men and women sat together and transacted their business jointly. This method has been adopted on account of the fewness of their numbers.

We returned to Baltimore and proceeded to Gunpowder, where Baltimore Quarterly Meeting was held.

It was large and generally satisfactory, my lot being to labor in word and doctrine, which resulted to the peace of my own mind and appeared to meet the approbation of Friends.

Although my prospect of religious service within the limits of Baltimore Quarterly Meeting was not fully accomplished, I felt at liberty to return home, with the intention to resume the work at a future time, if required.

CHAPTER XVI.

1861–'63.

Goes to Philadelphia to attend to the publication of History of Friends —Civil war begins—County occupied with Southern troops—Battle of Ball's Bluff—Goes through the lines to attend Baltimore Yearly Meeting—Is arrested when he returns—Interview with General Evans —After four days' detention is released—Occupation of Waterford Meeting House by Southern troops—Attends Quarterly Meeting at Sandy Spring and other meetings—Tribute to Miriam Gover—Goes with a committee to visit some of the subordinate meetings of Baltimore Yearly Meeting—Death of a sister—Visit to Philadelphia and New York Yearly Meetings—Passage from Extracts of Baltimore Yearly Meeting—Engaged in writing third and fourth volumes of History of Friends.

In the spring of the year 1861 I went to Philadelphia to superintend the stereotyping and printing of the second volume of my History of Friends. The public mind was then greatly excited by the measures adopted in the Southern States to effect a secession from the Federal government. On my way homeward, while stopping at Alexandria, I heard of the attack on Fort Sumpter, and soon after the news came that its small garrison had been compelled to surrender.

The whole country was agitated to a degree that I had never before witnessed, and it was evident that a dreadful civil war was imminent.

The place of my residence being on the border, within twelve miles of the Potomac, which was expected to be the line between the contending parties, I felt great apprehensions that our county would be the scene of sanguinary strife, and that desolation and distress would be our portion.

A large proportion of the citizens of our county, and, indeed, a majority of the voters in the State of Virginia, had been opposed to secession, but the leading conspirators, by their false statements, their artful appeals to State pride, and their violent measures of hostility against the Federal authorities, precipitated the people into a rebellion against the best government that any nation had ever enjoyed. The Society of Friends as a body remained true and loyal to the Federal Union; but a few families within the compass of our Quarterly Meeting allowed their sympathies with the Southern people to lead them astray.

Our county was soon occupied by Southern troops, and those of our citizens who adhered to the Union cause were placed under a strict surveillance, that required, on our part, great circumspection in our conversation and movements.

Freedom of speech in regard to the question of slavery had long been restricted; now it was still more dangerous to avow opposition to that oppressive system which was the cause and main spring of the rebellion.

The members of our religious Society were generally favored to maintain an unshaken trust in the Author of all good, and most of the heads of families among us remained quietly at our homes, but many of our young men, who were liable to be forced into the Southern army, sought safety in the free states.

At the first battle of Bull Run many citizens of our

county were engaged in the Confederate ranks, some as volunteers, and others as militia forced into the service. Some were killed, some mutilated, and among our immediate neighbors the voice of mourning was heard.

When the battle of Ball's Bluff was fought, the excitement in our neighborhood was intense, for it was only about ten miles distant; the roar of the cannon and even the rattle of the musketry could be heard, and some of the killed were our neighbors. The Confederate pickets were then for a few days withdrawn from the line of the Potomac, and a way left open for egress from our State. I was then under an appointment from our Quarterly Meeting to attend the Yearly Meeting in Baltimore, and the time being at hand I felt it my duty to go, if possible.

A young friend accompanied me as far as the river; we met with no interruption, and I was kindly received by the Federal guards on the Maryland shore. Only three other Friends from Virginia were in attendance, namely, William Holmes and Yardley Taylor from our Monthly Meeting, and Job Throckmorton from Hopewell.

We enjoyed, in a high degree, the company of our friends, and they were rejoiced that we were able to join them in the solemn services of Divine worship and church discipline. After the rise of the Yearly Meeting, I went to Washington City, where I obtained from the Provost Marshal a passport that I supposed would enable me to return through the Federal lines, but on reaching the Potomac I was informed by the officer in command of the guard that he could not permit me to pass. While I was at the inn, waiting for a passage, a young Virginian connected with the Federal army called on me, and stated that my friend William Holmes had been taken over the river by him, and he was willing to convey me across that night in a boat.

Being anxious to rejoin my family, and believing that I had a right to go, I accepted his offer and was safely conveyed to the Virginia shore. There I found a citizen whom I knew to be a Union man, and accepted his invitation to go with him to his house, about a mile distant. When we approached the house, some time after dark, he said to me: "Stand behind this tree, while I go in and see if any secessionists are there." He soon returned, and reported that some of his secession neighbors were in the house. He then conducted me to a door, and told me to take off my boots, walk softly up stairs and go to bed. Next morning I rose very early to breakfast, and my kind host furnished me a horse, with a boy to bring it back.

Taking an unfrequented road, we avoided the Confederate pickets, and when I came within two miles of my house, I dismissed the boy with the horse and proceeded afoot. My family were well, and we rejoiced together in a delightful reunion. But our happiness was soon marred by a report that I was to be arrested by the Confederate troops. On the following day, while we were at dinner, the soldiers came for me and conducted me to Leesburg, nine miles distant, where General Evans, of the Southern army, had his headquarters. I was taken before him just after nightfall, and the following dialogue ensued:

Gen. Evans.—"When did you come from Maryland?"

S. M. J.—"Yesterday."

Gen. Evans.—"What did you go for?"

S. M. J.—"To attend Friends' Yearly Meeting."

Gen. Evans.—"Don't you know that your first duty is to your country?"

S. M. J.—"No; my first duty is to God."

Gen. Evans (after a pause).—"Yes; but your second duty is to your country."

S. M. J.—"I do not know that I have violated any law of my country."

Gen. Evans.—"If you have not violated any law of your country, you have transgressed a military order. Why did you not apply for a permit to pass our lines?"

S. M. J.—"Because I was pretty sure I could not obtain one."

After some other remarks, the General said: "You may go to the hotel, and I will see you in the morning."

I went accordingly, and found the hotel crowded and dirty; but I was thankful that I was not sent to jail, as I had expected to be. Next morning I called on the General soon after breakfast, and found him in a better humor than he had been the night before. He said: "I have received a letter from Mrs. Lee, saying that you have been very kind to our sick soldiers." The person alluded to was the widow of Dr. Lee, whose daughter Orra had been one of my pupils. She was one of the managers of a hospital at Leesburg, and at her request I had, some time before, taken a load of bread and vegetables, contributed by our Friends, for the relief of the sick. On being informed of my arrest, she had immediately interceded for my release.

I told the General I had called in obedience to his command. He said he could not examine me then, and I might call next day. Before leaving him I remarked that I was obliged to him for not sending me to jail, as I had expected. He answered: "I have no disposition to imprison you; you may stay in town until I am ready to examine you," or words to this effect.

Here I may remark that he had, some time before, sent three of our Friends and other Union men to jail on account of their political sentiments and attachment to the

Federal government. Two of them were taken to Manassas Junction and detained several weeks, the others were released after a short confinement.

On the following morning I again called on the General, but he was not yet ready to examine me. Having been kindly invited by John M. Orr, at the request of his wife (formerly my pupil Orra Lee), I went to their house and made it my home during the remainder of my detention. J. M. Orr being a member of General Evans' staff, I desired him to inform the General that I was there, and should wait till he sent for me.

After I had been two days in Leesburg, my friend and neighbor William Holmes, whose arrest had been ordered by the rebel authorities on the same ground as mine, came and delivered himself up, and was permitted to make his home at a private house.

On the fourth day of my detention we were informed that we could obtain our release by entering into a bond to return on receiving *two days' notice* from the military authorities. This we readily agreed to do, for we had been taken without any notice, and our situation would be improved by the change. We returned to our homes, and were never required to re-appear. This result was not unexpected; for we considered the bond required of us merely a pretext to get rid of us, without seeming to acknowledge that we were blameless.

During the autumn and winter of 1861–'62 the Southern troops remained in possession of our county. Their camps were mostly near Leesburg, but a company or two of cavalry were kept at Waterford and occupied one-half of Friends' Meeting-house for their barrack. When they first came to Waterford they seemed to entertain a strong prejudice and animosity against the Friends, having been

informed that they were Union men and abolitionists; but on becoming better acquainted, some of the soldiers acknowledged that the storekeepers who were Friends, dealt with them more fairly than any they had met with on their march from the South, and their prejudices were removed. When it was observed that they intended to occupy the meeting-house, some of the Friends called on the captain and informed him that meetings had been held in that house regularly twice a week for more than one hundred years, and they were loth to give it up. He agreed to occupy only one end of the house, leaving the other part for the use of the meeting. The captain and some of the men often sat in the meeting, behaving with much decorum, and our beloved friend Miriam Gover was favored to preach the Gospel to them in the authority of Truth, which some of them freely acknowledged. I sometimes visited that meeting when the soldiers were in attendance, and had to admire the condescending goodness of the Heavenly Shepherd. This was especially the case at our Quarterly Meeting held there in the Second month, 1862. At that time Friends occupied both compartments of the meeting-house, the soldiers' baggage being stowed away out of sight as much as possible, and some of their swords left hanging against the walls in plain view. We thought it was a season of Divine favor. Our hearts being humbled under the pressure of affliction and our trust placed on the Father of Mercies, we found Him to be a God nigh at hand, a very present help in every time of trouble.

Our meeting-house at Goose Creek was never occupied by the soldiers, though they sometimes attended our meetings.

In the spring of 1862, the Federal troops came into the

county of Loudoun, and the Confederates withdrew to the more southern part of the State. It was then supposed by the Union party, that the Southern troops would appear no more among us, but in this they were greatly mistaken. There was, however, a perceptible change in the conduct and conversation of the secessionists. They became less defiant, less confident, and more courteous towards us. Some of the Union men felt disposed to retaliate for past injuries by annoying the secessionists, but in general, they were moderate and willing to assist their neighbors of that party when their property was seized by the Federal soldiers. This disposition to alleviate the horrors of war, by acts of kindness and mercy, was indeed manifested by some of both parties, and became more prevalent as the alternate successes and defeats experienced by both taught them the uncertainty of military operations and the benefits of mutual forbearance.

The atrocities said to be committed in East Tennessee and some other places were not witnessed here, nor was the same degree of animosity manifested by citizens of the opposite parties towards each other. As a Society, Friends were regarded in this county as among the most prominent adherents of the Federal government; but being non-combatants, and generally quiet and unobtrusive, they were seldom molested by their secession neighbors. On the contrary, they were mostly treated with forbearance, which they reciprocated by acts of kindness when opportunity offered. There can be no doubt that their example had a salutary influence in tempering the asperity that always attends such conflicting sentiments in the community.

Being under an appointment of the Yearly Meeting to visit the subordinate meetings of Friends, part of which

service had previously been accomplished, I proceeded, in the spring of 1862, in company with our valued friend Miriam Gover and my daughter Mary Ann, to attend Sandy Spring Quarterly Meeting in Maryland. The meeting was satisfactory, and after its conclusion we proceeded to attend meetings at Indian Spring, Washington City, Alexandria and Woodlawn.

On our way homeward, passing through Fairfax County, we had an opportunity to observe the desolating effects of war. During part of the journey we traveled through a country laid waste; destitute of enclosures and without cultivation; the houses dilapidated, and most of the inhabitants gone.

I look back upon our labors on that religious visit with much satisfaction, especially as it was the last journey I performed in company with our beloved friend Miriam Gover. In the spring of the following year she was called away from the toils and trials of time to the rewards of eternity. She was a Gospel minister with whom I had great unity; sound in doctrine, impressive in discourse, and careful to minister in the ability that God giveth. I think I have never been acquainted with a purer and more devoted soul, and her memory will long be cherished by her surviving friends.

On the 19th of the Eighth month, 1862, being the next day after our Quarterly Meeting, I left home, in company with William B. Steer, to join some other members of a committee appointed by our Yearly Meeting, to visit its subordinate meetings.

At Huntington, Adams Co., Penna., we met with B. Hallowell and wife, and Benjamin P. Moore and wife, with their sister Susan Jones, and, after attending Monthly Meeting there, we all proceeded in private carriages on

our journey to visit the meetings of Friends within the limits of Centre Quarterly Meeting.

Two days journey through a mountainous country brought us to Bedford, Penna., and the next morning, being First-day, the 24th of the Eighth month, we went 12 miles to Dunning's Creek meeting house, where we attended a meeting for worship. It was, to me, a satisfactory meeting, although in the early part laborious. We made our homes with James and Jesse Blackburn, with whose families we were much interested.

Leaving Dunning's Creek we traveled two days and crossed the Allegheny mountain amid scenery wild and picturesque, until we reached the Grampian hills in Clearfield County. At the house of Nathan Moore, near West Branch Meeting house, we found a hospitable welcome.

On Fourth-day, the 27th, we attended an appointed meeting at Bridgeport (4 miles from West Branch), held in the house of Joseph M. Spencer, where meetings for worship are usually held on First-days.

Many of the neighbors attended, and we had some service which afforded the reward of peace. Next day we were at the Monthly Meeting at West Branch. It was largely attended by members and others, and proved to be a season of Divine favor.

On Sixth-day, the 29th, we proceeded to Centre, to attend the Quarterly Meeting.

During most of the journey up to this time, my mind had at times been oppressed with solicitude about my family, from an apprehension that our county might again be brought under the sad effects of the Civil war that is now devastating the State of Virginia. These apprehensions were increased when I learned from a newspaper I met with on the way, that the Confederate Cavalry had made

a dash through our neighborhood and captured some of the Federal Cavalry at Waterford. On arriving at the house of our kind friend John Way, near Centre meeting house, I received a letter from my dear wife, written just before the raid of the Confederate Cavalry. It was truly comforting to read her expressions of calm trust and reliance upon the Arm of Divine power; and I was enabled to abide in patience, under a feeling that the beloved inmates of my home would be protected and preserved.

The Quarterly Meeting was satisfactory. The meeting for worship on First-day was very full, and through the gracious aid of the Heavenly Shepherd, I trust I was made instrumental in feeding His flock. Our friend, Benjamin Hallowell, was favored in gospel ministry, and in the meeting for discipline he was enabled to hand forth much salutary counsel. I think there is in this Quarterly Meeting a lively concern on the part of many to do the Master's will and support the testimonies of Truth; although they have been under much discouragement for several years past on account of some of their members being concerned in what is called spiritualism, a supposed communication with the spirits of the dead.

The advice given them some years ago, by our Yearly Meeting, to let it alone, for it was a delusion that would pass away, has proved wise and salutary. It is now on the wane, and most of the Friends, who were engaged in it, have withdrawn from it.

After the Quarterly Meeting we attended an appointed Meeting at Bald Eagle, and then took our course homeward.

At Lewistown I parted with my kind and interesting companions. They continued their journey in their carriages, and I took the rail-road for Baltimore, hoping there to obtain some intelligence from home.

In Baltimore I met my son Phineas, who, with several other young men of our neighborhood, had fled at the approach of the Confederate army; being apprehensive, that if they remained they would be forced into the ranks of the rebels under the conscription act law. Most of the young men and some of the older ones, holding Union sentiments, have fled from Loudoun County, and are now refugees in Maryland and Pennsylvania.

All communication across the Potomac being interdicted I was under the necessity of remaining some time longer from home.

After attending Monthly Meeting at Baltimore I went to Gunpowder, where the Quarterly Meeting was held on the Eighth day of the Ninth month. At the public meeting on First-day I was favored with an enlargement in gospel ministry for which I desire to be humbly thankful to Him, who "putteth forth his own sheep and goeth before them." Other ministers were also engaged in acceptable service and the baptizing power of Divine truth was experienced by many.

While at Quarterly Meeting, we learned that the Confederate Army in large force had crossed the Potomac and occupied Fredericktown, and much anxiety was felt, both in Maryland and Pennsylvania. My way homeward being closed I went to Deer Creek, Harford County, Maryland, to the house of my sister Tacy. Having had for some months a minute from our Monthly Meeting, authorizing me to visit and appoint meetings within the limits of our Yearly Meeting, it seemed now to be a suitable time to proceed in a visit to most of the meetings constituting Nottingham Quarter. This service I had in contemplation more than a year ago, but was hindered from its accomplishment.

On First-day, the 14th of Ninth month, I attended meeting in the forenoon at Deer Creek and had an appointed meeting in the afternoon at Broad Creek. They were both good meetings and I had satisfactory service.

On Second-day, accompanied by my friend William Hopkins, I crossed the Susquehannah river and came into Lancaster County, Penna.

On Fourth-day we attended the stated meeting for worship at Drumore, on Fifth-day at Little Britain, and on Seventh-day afternoon had an appointed meeting at Octorara.

William Hopkins having returned home, my kind and venerable friend, Eli Smedley, offered his services and became my companion.

On First-day, the 21st, we attended meeting at Little Britain in the morning. The subject which opened to my view was the Commission of Christ to his disciples to teach and baptize; and I was enabled, as I thought, through Divine aid, to expound the doctrine of saving faith and spiritual baptism. In the afternoon I attended an appointed meeting at Eastland, which was well attended, solemn, and I trust, instructive.

My mind is often under much solicitude on account of my family, from whom I can hear nothing, as they live near the seat of war and all communication by mail is cut off. During the sanguinary battles that have taken place within the last two weeks, the roar of cannon and even the rattle of musketry must have been heard from my home; and during part of the time our county being in possession of the Confederate army, there is every reason to suppose that foraging parties have visited every neighborhood in search of food and clothing.

"Why art thou cast down, oh! my soul, and why art

thou disquieted within me; trust in the Lord, for in the Lord Jehovah is everlasting strength." Eli Smedley being unable on account of ill health to proceed with me, my friend Levi K. Brown kindly offered to be my companion. We attended meetings at West Nottingham, Little Elk and East Nottingham, in all of which I thought the Divine Master was with us and graciously condescended to feed us with the bread of life.

Ninth month, 27th.—I am now at the house of my sister Tacy, intending to visit Friends' meeting, held at Fawn to-morrow, and then proceed homeward.

Tenth month.—The meeting at Fawn was favored with the evidence of Divine life, and we were sweetly comforted together. I then returned home with the reward of peace and found my family in good health. They had been mercifully preserved and protected by the Good Shepherd during a season of alarm and danger.

In the autumn of 1862 I attended our Yearly Meeting at Baltimore, and the way being open, a considerable number of Friends from Virginia were in attendance. The following passage from the minute of the exercises of the meeting, is deemed appropriate for insertion here.

"The sorrowful condition of our beloved country, so feelingly alluded to in the Epistles (from other Yearly Meetings), has tended much to solemnize the meeting and to humble us under the consideration of our many delinquencies, as a nation and as individuals. Lively testimonies have been borne in this meeting, not only against the horrors of war, but to the all-sufficiency of that grace which emanates from the Father of Spirits, and which will save to the uttermost all who place their trust in Him.

"It was clearly shown, that however ardently we may feel

attached to our excellent Government, its preservation, or that of any civil institution, is of small importance when compared with the sublime principles of the Gospel of Christ and the salvation of immortal souls. The disciples of the Prince of Peace can only promote the advancement of his kingdom, by obedience to his Spirit, and keeping his commandments. "Without me", he says, "ye can do nothing." "If any man will come after me, let him deny himself, take up his cross daily, and follow me." These are still the unchangeable terms of discipleship; for we cannot serve two masters; — we are either conformed to this world, or transformed by the renewings of our minds.

"They who have experienced the mercy and forgiveness of God, will be enabled by His grace to forgive others; and continuing under this holy influence, they will be endued with patience and confidence in Him who "ruleth in the kingdom of men, and giveth it to whomsoever he will. He sees from the beginning to the end of time; for one day with the Lord is as a thousand years, and a thousand years as one day.

"Information has been received at this meeting, that many of our members, who reside in Virginia, have, during the past year, been subjected to great trials by reason of the civil war which is now desolating that portion of our country. Some of them have been arrested by the military authorities of the Southern States, and held as prisoners for a time. Among these, our beloved friend, Job Throckmorton, was one whose sufferings excited general sympathy. While on his way to attend the Monthly Meeting at Hopewell, he was arrested by the soldiery, and with many other prisoners, who had not been bearing arms, he was subjected to fatiguing marches and great privations, which resulted in his death. His pure

and blameless life was such, that we have no doubt he laid down his head in peace, and has entered into eternal rest.

"Our Religious meetings in that section of country have generally been maintained, though, most of our meeting-houses have, at times, been occupied for military purposes. At Hopewell and Winchester our members have been subjected to peculiar privations and trials, by reason of the large contending armies that have alternately occupied and despoiled that region; but the meetings of Friends have seldom been omitted, though often held in private houses.

"At Woodlawn, a branch of Alexandria Monthly Meeting, the meeting-house was, during the whole of last winter, occupied by the Federal troops. The Midweek Meetings of Friends were then held in a private house; but on First days they assembled in the meeting-house with the soldiers, who carefully prepared the house, expressed a desire that the meetings should be kept up, and were evidently much interested in them.

"At Waterford, a part of the meeting-house was for many months occupied by the Southern soldiers, while another part was reserved for the meetings of Friends. The officers and some of the soldiers usually attended, behaved with decorum, and at times expressed their cordial appreciation of those seasons of deep solemnity and religious exercises. We have reason to believe that the Gospel of Peace and Love, at some favored seasons, was felt to flow, like a refreshing stream in a desert land.

"The evidences thus afforded of the power of Divine truth, and the consolations of the Gospel of Christ, should incite us to increased diligence, that we may through watchfulness and prayer, and unreserved obedience, fill up the measure of our duties, and obtain the rich reward of Divine approbation."

In the spring of 1863, being informed of the extreme illness of my beloved sister, Anna Lupton (wife of Richard R. Lupton), near Richmond, Indiana, I went to see her, and remained with her about ten days. She seemed then a little better, but in about two months she was taken to "the house appointed for all living." She was truly a good woman and much beloved by all who knew her. Her patience and cheerfulness during her long sickness rendered it a pleasure to nurse her; and she died as she lived, in firm reliance upon the arm of Divine Power.

Before my departure from home, I had laid before our Monthly Meeting a prospect I had to attend the Yearly Meetings of Philadelphia and New York, and the time being at hand, I proceeded from Indiana directly to Philadelphia. The Yearly Meeting held there was deeply interesting, and through the condescending goodness of the Heavenly Shepherd, I was given ability to proclaim the doctrine of salvation by Christ.

At New York Yearly meeting I experienced in like manner the unmerited favor of being called into the Master's service, and endowed with a qualification to feed the lambs of his flock.

After attending a number of meetings on my way home, I was enabled to rejoin my family, and finding them in good health, felt thankful to the Author of all good for His many blessings.

Our Yearly Meeting at Baltimore this year was, to me, a time of trial and also of rejoicing. The committee appointed to embody the exercises of the Yearly Meeting produced a minute which was considered very satisfactory. The following passages, being the expression of my sentiments, are deemed appropriate for insertion here:

"A considerable number of our members who live

within the lines of military operations, being now in attendance with us, represent that although they have been subjected to great trials, they have generally been preserved from personal injury, and have cause of thankfulness to the Shepherd of Israel. Two members of Fairfax Monthly Meeting (in Virginia) have been arrested as hostages by the Southern troops, and so far as we know, are still held as prisoners (in Richmond), but measures have been taken to obtain their release, which, it is hoped, will prove successful.

"On considering the condition of our beloved country, now subjected to the calamities attendant on civil war, our hearts are affected with sorrow for the many victims who have fallen in the strife, the many widows and orphans who mourn their bereavement, and the demoralizing effects of military service.

"We nevertheless hold fast our confidence in the wisdom and goodness of that Almighty Being who rules in Heaven and on earth, who permits the passions of men to work out their own chastisement, and brings forth, in the operations of His providence, results that cannot be foreseen by human wisdom nor frustrated by human depravity.

"The testimony which our fathers maintained to the peaceable nature of Christ's kingdom is still dear to our hearts, and notwithstanding the cloud of discouragement that now overshadows us, we trust 'the Sun of Righteousness will yet arise, and the glory of the Lord be made manifest to the nations.' As the prophet saw in the visions of light, a stone cut out without hands, which became a great mountain and filled the whole earth, so, we believe, will the Redeemer's kingdom be established in the fulness of time by the word of Divine Power. In order that this precious testimony may be advanced, witnesses for the

truth have been raised up in every age of the Christian Church, who have often prophesied in sackcloth, or have been slain for the testimony of Jesus. Such were the members of this religious Society at its rise. They were faithful to the civil governments under which they lived, and when they could not actively obey the laws which conflicted with their conscientious convictions, they patiently submitted to the penalties, until, through suffering, they obtained relief, and were thus made instrumental in promoting the cause of religious and civil liberty.

"May we be faithful in following their example, so far as they followed Christ.

"How instructive is the reply of the blessed Jesus to the disciple who inquired: 'Lord, what shall this man do?' 'If I will that he tarry till I come, what is that to thee? Follow thou me.' It is not our place to judge others who may believe themselves called into a different path from that in which we walk, but rather to follow in the footsteps of our Holy Exemplar, who did no sin, neither was guile found in his mouth; who, when he was reviled, reviled not again; when he suffered, he threatened not, but committed himself to Him that judgeth righteously.

"Much solicitude and religious concern have been felt in this meeting, that in the education of our precious children we may seek a qualification to lead them in the way of righteousness, both by precept and example. For this end provision should be made for a guarded religious education at school, and suitable books for use in the family.

"We were reminded that this Yearly meeting has at various times issued advices to its members, inciting them to the frequent reading of the Holy Scriptures, the

authenticity of which has always been acknowledged by the Society of Friends. We believe it is not the part of true wisdom to dwell upon defects, whether real or imaginary, in the sacred records, but rather to make use of them as they were intended, 'for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness,' remembering that it is only through the operation of the Spirit of Truth on our hearts that they can be made availing to us in the promotion of our salvation."

The two Friends mentioned in the foregoing extract as prisoners in Richmond were William Williams and Robert J. Hollingsworth, of Waterford, members of Fairfax Monthly Meeting. They were held as hostages for two secessionists, who, on account of their aiding the rebellion, were taken by the Federal troops and held as citizen prisoners. We saw no way to obtain the release of our friends but by petitioning the Federal executive for the release of the two secessionists. For this purpose I went twice to Washington City in company with Mary, the wife of William Williams, and her brother, James M. Walker. We were treated kindly by the President, and at the time of our Yearly Meeting we thought the exchange we desired was about to be effected; but the Secretary of War would not consent, and we were obliged to relinquish the hopes we had cherished.

Our proceedings were known to the friends and relatives of the two rebel prisoners, and when they found their object could not be effected by holding the hostages, they petitioned the authorities at Richmond to release them, which was done. When James M. Walker was assured that our friends were released, he wrote to General Hitchcock, in Washington, soliciting the release of the two secessionists, and the Secretary of War, E. M. Stanton, promptly granted the request.

During the last two years, I have devoted a large share of my attention, when at home, to the last two volumes of my History of the Society of Friends. I have been subject to many interruptions, and at times so disheartened by the dreadful conflict raging in our State, that I was not in a condition to prosecute with vigor any work requiring a prolonged mental effort. Often when employed at my desk the roar of cannon has brought to my ears the sad tidings that my fellow-creatures were engaged in deadly conflict, and the reflection that many were then suffering excruciating pains or dying on the field of battle, could not fail to enlist my sympathies.

On the east, the south and the west, within a range of about thirty miles from my dwelling, many battles have been fought, and the report of artillery has at times been heard from a distance still greater.

Often have my prayers been put up to the Ruler of the Universe,—the Author of all good—that He would be pleased, in His own good time, to cause the raging storm of war to cease, and to breathe upon the hearts of those engaged in it, causing them to relinquish the bloody strife, and to unite once more in the peaceable maintenance of our excellent civil government.

I have been long satisfied that nearly all our National troubles have sprung from the oppression of our fellow-creatures, and the calamities that have come upon the slaveholding states may be considered a just retribution for transgression.

The system of slavery, as it has existed here, degrades the slave and corrupts the master. It has engendered, in the dominant race, a degree of arrogance and pride that induced them to spurn the restraints of law, and, moreover, it has produced habits of idleness and dissipation,

ruinous to the estates and the morals of many. During nearly forty years past I have found it my duty to bear testimony against this enormous evil, both with my voice and the pen, and every year I live confirms the abhorrence of it. I may acknowledge, however, that during a few years immediately preceding the rebellion, I found fewer opportunities to urge the claims of the down-trodden slave to the rights of humanity.

Those who supported the system had grown callous and reckless; blinded by their supposed interests, and misled by their clergy, they rushed forward to destruction.

CHAPTER XVII.

1864.

With a committee, visits Friends in Iowa who have applied for the privilege of holding a Quarterly Meeting.

1864, Fifth month, 5th.—I left my home in order to meet at Baltimore a committee of our Yearly Meeting, appointed to visit Friends in Iowa who have applied for the privilege of holding a Quarterly Meeting. The Federal forces on the line of the Potomac maintain at this time a strict blockade, on account of the military movements now taking place in Virginia. No mails are allowed to pass either way, nor are any persons without a pass from the Government permitted to cross the river, except refugees going north and persons bringing grain from Virginia.

At Berlin I met, on the Virginia shore, the United States Provost Marshal, and on making application for a passage, he said I could go over and report myself as a

refugee to the General commanding at Harper's Ferry. I told him I was not a refugee, but a minister of the Society of Friends, under an appointment of our Yearly Meeting going to Iowa on religious service, and that I had written to my friends in Maryland to procure me a passport, which I had no doubt they would obtain. After some reflection he said, as I was a minister in a Society that was generally loyal, he would give me a pass to Baltimore, and he wished me as soon as I obtained my passport to send him a copy of it. As I passed the Point of Rocks on the railroad, I was informed by a Friend that a passport from the President of the United States had been received there and been forwarded to Waterford for me.

9th.—Left Baltimore this morning in company with my valued friends Benjamin P. Moore and wife and Mary B. Needles, being a part of the Yearly Meeting's committee.

12th.—Arrived at West Liberty, and met with a cordial welcome from our friends.

14th.—Attended Monthly Meeting at Wapsinonoc, near West Liberty. The meeting for worship was a season of Divine favor, during which Mary B. Needles, Joseph A. Dugdale and myself were engaged in advocating the cause of Truth.

J. A. Dugdale has lately been received again into membership, after having been many years separated from our Society and connected with those called Progressive Friends. That movement having proved unsuccessful, and most of the meetings that originated from it being extinct, several persons who left the Society of Friends to join it have come back into membership, and, I trust, will henceforth be satisfied to move in unity with the body.

The business of the Monthly Meeting was conducted in harmony and brotherly love. In the afternoon we attended the Preparative meeting of ministers and elders.

Fifth month, 15th, First-day.—The meeting to-day was very large and solemn. I was engaged in Gospel ministry, on the subject of Christ's miracles in feeding the multitudes and healing their diseases, which he did through the power of God dwelling in him without measure. Those wonderful works are recorded as facts and appealed to by him as evidences of his mission and authority. When we consider the vast importance of his mission, not only to that people, but to all succeeding generations of mankind, we need not marvel that Infinite Goodness should so far condescend to the condition of the people as to show forth, by signs and wonders, the power and authority of His Beloved Son, in order to confirm the glorious truths that he taught and to introduce the Gospel dispensation. The same Divine Power is spiritually manifested to the faithful followers of Christ as present with them according to their several measures of the Heavenly gift, to feed them with spiritual food, to heal them of their spiritual maladies, and to raise them from death to life. These wonders of Divine Power performed in the soul, are more important than the healing of physical diseases, because more permanent and more essential to our happiness.

17th.—The committee proceeded to Prairie Grove, a distance of forty miles. On the way we halted at Columbus, and paid a very satisfactory visit to Sarah Dugdale, an aged minister, who is a remarkable example of Christian love and grace abounding.

18th and 19th.—We visited a number of Friends in their families with much satisfaction. Accompanied by M. B. Needles and J. A. Dugdale and wife, I went to Mount Pleasant to attend an evening meeting appointed at my request. I found it my duty to address the meeting on the spiritual and practical nature of Christianity.

22nd, First-day.—The committee attended meeting at Prairie Grove, which was well filled with an attentive audience, mostly members of our Society, or nearly united with us in religious sentiment. Our dear friend Joseph A. Dugdale appeared in supplication in a feeling and solemnizing manner.

My mind was impressed with the great responsibility that attends the exercise of Gospel ministry and the duties of those who occupy the station of ministers. We should be not only servants of God, but also servants of the Church. "We preach not ourselves," said the Apostle Paul, "but Jesus Christ the Lord, and ourselves your servants for Christ's sake." I endeavored to show that all who are regenerated and united to Christ the Head by the bond of the Spirit, are one body, whatever name they may bear here, and whether they belong to the Church Militant on earth or the Church Triumphant in Heaven. "Ye are built upon the foundation of prophets and apostles, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner-stone." He is the vine, they who are united to him are the branches, who bring forth fruit according to the measure of grace received. In him, the blessed Son of God, dwelt a full manifestation of Divine Power, for it pleased the Father that "in him should all fulness dwell, and "of his fulness have all we received, and grace for grace." The Apostles acknowledged him as their Lord and Master, and Peter, on the day of Pentecost, when speaking from inspiration, said: "This Jesus hath God raised up, whereof we are all witnesses, therefore being by the right hand of God exalted, and having received of the Father the promise of the Holy Ghost, he hath shed forth that which we now see and hear." A measure of the same Divine Power which dwelt without measure in Jesus was given to the

Apostles, and through this they wrought miracles in his name. Thus, when the lame man was healed at the gate of the temple called Beautiful, the Apostles Peter and John said: "Be it known unto you all, and to all the people of Israel, that by the name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth, whom ye crucified, whom God raised from the dead, even by *him* doth this man stand here before you whole." And in like manner Peter said unto one sick of the palsy: "Eneas, Jesus Christ maketh thee whole."

The Apostles did not affect to be "lords over God's heritage," but were, in humility and meekness, examples of the flock. They were servants of God and servants of the Church. So should every minister of Christ walk as they walked, in lowliness of mind, giving no just occasion of offence, but condescending to the infirmities of the weak, as our blessed Lord washed the disciples' feet. This subject was further illustrated by reference to important facts in ecclesiastical history, showing the disastrous consequences that have resulted from the pride and ambition of some who pretended to be ministers of Christ.

Our dear friend Mary B. Needles followed with some appropriate remarks, and after an interval of silence, I found my way open to address the young people on the duty of devoting the prime of their day to the service of God, showing the happiness that would result from it.

Before I parted with the other members of the Yearly Meeting's Committee, we conferred together on the subject of our appointment, and were entirely united in judgment that the establishment of a Quarterly Meeting here, as requested, will be right and conducive to the welfare of the Society.

On Second-day, the 23rd of Fifth month, I parted with my dear companions in travel, they returning homeward

and I remaining in Iowa to accomplish the remainder of the service assigned me. At Burlington I went on board a steamboat and proceeded up the Mississippi River to Muscatine. The separation from my companions and the remembrance of my dear family and friends at home, more than a thousand miles distant, together with the perils and anxieties attendant on the civil war now raging in Virginia, all tended to produce a feeling of loneliness almost amounting to melancholy. But remembering the many mercies extended to me in times past by the Author of my being, I found comfort in the assurance that He is ever nigh to keep those who trust in Him. May He be pleased to preserve and guide the dear inmates of my home, and extend over our beloved country the sceptre of His merciful protection, to assuage the passions of men, and restore the blessings of peace.

After attending meetings at Iowa City, Wapsinonoc and Atalissa, I left West Liberty on the 30th, and proceeded to Marshall County, Illinois, by rail and stage. Much of the way was through a beautiful rolling prairie decked with flowers, and in many places abounding in flocks of sheep and herds of cattle, with farm houses and villages frequently in view.

31st.—Attended a meeting appointed for me at Marietta, a village five miles from Marshalltown. The Divine Life was felt, and I thought I was favored in ministering. There are many Friends in the neighborhood connected with us, and a settlement of Orthodox Friends near, some of whom were present. Our Friends feel the want of a meeting, but they think they are too weak to hold one. I encouraged them to look for strength to the Shepherd of Israel.

Sixth month, 1st.—I arrived at Sterling, Illinois, and

after spending several days in that vicinity visiting Friends (some of whom had lately moved from Loudoun County, Virginia, to Illinois, and had looked for my visit with deep interest,) and appointing one meeting there, I came, on the 4th, to Chicago, and was met at the cars by a Friend who conducted me to the house of David Townsend.

Sixth month, 5th, First-day.—I attended a meeting here. It was composed of some of our Society, a number of Orthodox Friends, and a few Norwegians, who are friends in principle. They meet every First-day in a room belonging to the Young Men's Christian Association, and the meeting is understood to be free to all who profess with Friends, but is not under the control of any meeting for discipline. It has been gathered within a few months, and I trust will continue to increase and prosper. The room, I suppose, would accommodate one hundred and fifty people, and was about three-fourths filled. I found my mind clothed with love and furnished with ability to preach the Gospel to them, and I think it met with acceptance in the hearts of all.

After meeting I received a cordial greeting from many, and the Norwegians, who could speak but little of our language, manifested their unity and good feeling. Some of them at times appear in supplication and exhortation in their own language, which is unintelligible to most of the audience, but our Friends say the unction that accompanies their ministry may be felt.

Sixth month, 7th.—Having returned from Chicago to Joseph Wilson's, near Sterling, I attended a meeting appointed at my request. It was held in a grove, where seats had been provided, and there was a considerable company in attendance, most of whom were Friends or

descendants of Friends. It was considered a good meeting, and I was favored in communication.

In the evening I came to Dixon, about twelve miles, where a meeting had been appointed for me in the Methodist Meeting-house. It was large and solemn, though very few Friends live near enough to attend. The congregation was of various sects; most of the ministers in the town were present, and about two hundred soldiers, lately recruited, were in attendance. The subject opened to my view and chiefly dwelt upon was the doctrine of regeneration, showing the necessity of being born again of the Spirit in order to attain to holiness and happiness. It was a favored season, and, I think, generally felt to be so.

8th.—Leaving Dixon, I proceeded on my way, and at Tonica, a distance of fifty-six miles, was met by our kind friend William M. Price, who came with a carriage to convey me eight miles to his house. There I met Elizabeth Brooks, minister from Blue River Quarterly Meeting, and her companion, Eliza Satterthwaite, who were accompanied by William Lewelling and were visiting the meetings and families of Friends in the love of the Gospel.

The evening passed sweetly in the company of these dear friends, and we had a religious opportunity in the family that was refreshing to our minds.

9th.—Attended Clear Creek Meeting of Friends, and notice of our coming having been given, the house was crowded. It was a precious baptizing season, in which Elizabeth Brooks and her companion participated with me in Gospel communication.

In the afternoon I went to Henry, and next morning proceeded to Canton, where I was welcomed by Jonah H. Rees and family.

The following day he and his wife went with me twenty-

eight miles to Ipava, Fulton County, and thence to the house of my cousin, Joseph Russell.

10th, First-day.—We attended Friends' Meeting at Plainfield. Notice being given, the house was crowded, and the meeting was favored with the evidence of Divine life. For many years this meeting had been in a weak, declining condition; there has lately been some improvement in the attendance of its members, and I trust it will not be forsaken.

After spending a day in visiting my relatives, I came about one hundred and fifty miles to Benjaminville, where I attended the meeting on Fifth-day, which was satisfactory.

17th.—Came to Honey Creek, and had an appointed meeting at the house of David Reynolds. The notice was short, but most of the Friends and some others were in attendance. I felt the reward of peace.

18th.—Came to Richmond, Indiana, and the next day being the first of the week, I attended their meeting. The subject of the communication was the healing of our spiritual maladies through the power of Christ, and the necessity of our having faith in him as an ever-present Saviour.

22nd.—Remained there until to-day, when I came to Springboro' and attended Monthly Meeting, and also one for the solemnization of a marriage.

26th, First-day.—Attended meeting at Waynesville in the forenoon, and had an appointed one in the afternoon at the Grove Meeting-house, near Harveysburg. Many colored people were in attendance, who came from Virginia within a few years past, and having known me there, were anxious to see me. Their greetings were warm, and their inquiries after their old friends and neighbors were earnest and affectionate. Some of them had worked for

me, and some of the younger ones I had taught in a First-day school at our house. They manifested their regard in the most earnest manner.

After visiting the meetings of Green Plain and Oakland, I started for my home, where I arrived on the 30th, and had the satisfaction of finding my family in better health than when I left them, for which favor and the many mercies of our Father in Heaven I desire to be profoundly grateful. In this journey I was absent from home eight weeks, and travelled about three thousand and fifty-five miles.

CHAPTER XVIII.

1864–'65.

Citizens of Loudoun arrested by Union troops—Goes to Washington to procure their release—Interview with General Sheridan and other military commanders—Part of the prisoners liberated on parole, others kept as hostages for exchange—Attends Baltimore Yearly Meeting—Again lays before the meeting his concern that an equitable share of the property shall be offered the Orthodox Friends, which was united with—An extract from the minutes of the meeting—Goes to Philadelphia—A serious accident on the train—General Sheridan's raid in Loudoun—Much distress there—Help solicited from the North, which is cheerfully given—Closing of the war—Death of President Lincoln.

On First-day, the 21st of Eighth month, 1864, as some of our Friends were going home from meeting they met a detachment of Federal cavalry, commanded by Major Waite, of Illinois. They had with them a number of citizen prisoners, whom they had arrested at or near their

homes, and they added to the number several members of our Society then on their way from meeting. They passed near our house, but I was not at home.

Early the next morning I went to Purcelville and found the troops and prisoners near that place in a piece of woods, where they had spent the night. I spoke to the Major on behalf of the citizens he had arrested, desiring that they might be liberated. He said he would release those I would vouch for as Union men, a number of whom had already been singled out for liberation before my arrival on the ground. As most of the others were strangers to me, and the whole of them were just on the point of marching, no opportunity was afforded to obtain their release. I solicited the liberation of Dr. B., not vouching for his loyalty, but on the ground of his usefulness in the neighborhood and the scarcity of physicians. My request was not granted, and the troops, with their prisoners, moved on.

In the afternoon of the same day I was notified by two of Moseby's Confederate cavalry that I must report to Moseby within fifteen days unless Dr. B. was released. They said other Union men would be held responsible for the return of such of the prisoners as were secessionists. I told them there was no need of placing me under any restraint, as I had already made application for the release of the doctor and other prisoners, and that I was then preparing to go to Washington for the same purpose. They exacted no promise from me, and took leave.

My wife and I had been expecting to go to Alexandria on a visit, and intended to start about the middle of the week, but I thought it best to proceed at once, and let her follow me in a few days. I had a passport from the President of the United States, authorizing me to cross the Po-

tomac and go to Baltimore. When I arrived near the river, I met some Union men returning from the ferry at Point of Rocks, who told me no person was allowed to go over, and although one of them had a pass from General Augur, they were warned by the Federal troops to leave the river, and a gun was fired over their heads from the opposite side. I concluded, however, to go on, and when I reached the ferry the guards on the Maryland side hallooed to know what I wanted. I replied: "I wish to go over on important business. I have a pass from the President of the United States. Ask the captain to come over." The captain came, and agreed, after some hesitation, to allow me to proceed to Washington, accompanied by a young friend.

On Fourth-day morning I waited on General Augur, in Washington, who treated me with courtesy and kindness, expressed his apprehensions that the arrest of the citizens in Loudoun would lead to unpleasant consequences, and gave me a letter to C. A. Dana, Assistant Secretary of War.

I immediately waited on him, and was kindly received. He said the order originated with Lieutenant General Grant, and was intended only to bring out of Loudoun such citizens as were liable to rebel conscription. He felt some hesitation about releasing the prisoners, although some of them were old men, beyond the age for military service.

He proposed that I should go to General Sheridan, commander of the military district in which Loudoun is included. His headquarters being near Harper's Ferry, the Secretary gave me a passport, together with General Augur's letter and his own endorsement.

On Fifth-day morning, the 25th, accompanied by a

citizen of Jefferson County, I went by railroad to Harper's Ferry, thence proceeded about two miles beyond, where I found General Sheridan's headquarters in a tent, and his army encamped in sight. He received me courteously, read the letter, and heard my statement. Then he remarked: "We must all bear the burdens imposed by this war. I and my soldiers have to bear our burden in the field of battle; thousands of bereaved families have to bear theirs in the loss of near and dear kindred; and you people of Loudoun must not complain if you have to bear your share." I told him the Union men of Loudoun were truly loyal, and we did not wish to embarrass the Government; we thought, however, that no advantage, but much injury, would result from the manner in which General Grant's order had been executed. He said the old men should be released, and also the doctors, of whom there were two among the prisoners; as to the rest, he would telegraph to General Augur in relation to them. After a pleasant interview we took leave, and next day returned to Washington.

Seventh-day, 27th.—In company with William Williams and C. P. Janney I waited on General Augur, who said he had not received the telegram from General Sheridan. We then waited on Secretary Dana, and I reported the result of my interview with General Sheridan. I told him, moreover, that I apprehended the most disastrous consequences from the policy that I feared was about to be pursued by the Federal forces. If they swept through the county frequently, arresting peaceable citizens who had committed no overt act against the Federal government, and against whom there was no charge except for their political opinions, the consequence would be that an equal number of Union men would be arrested by the seces-

sionists and carried as prisoners to Richmond, where the most cruel treatment awaits them. And furthermore, if the Federal troops come and destroy our crops and take away our cattle, as they have done in Frederick and Jefferson Counties, it will inflict great suffering without any equivalent advantage.

After hearing my statement, the Secretary advised me to write to General Grant on the subject, and the letter should be forwarded by the War Department. I told him I was willing to do so, and would bring him my letter.

During one of my visits to the War Department I met with Major De Vere Burr, Judge of the County Court, District of Columbia, who was waiting to see the Secretary on the same errand that brought me thither. We soon formed an acquaintance, and finding our sentiments to coincide, a friendship sprang up between us, which led us to become fellow laborers.

First-day, 28th.—This day I had two appointed meetings for Divine worship in Alexandria. The Friends' Meeting House has for about two years past been occupied for a hospital, and the meeting has gone down. Judge Underwood, of the United States District Court, kindly gave us the use of his Court Room, and, with his family, attended both meetings.

Second-day, 29th.—In conjunction with De Vere Burr, we resumed our efforts for the liberation of such of the prisoners as we deemed worthy. Having obtained a list of the names, we collected testimony from Union men concerning the characters of those whom they knew, and such as were peaceable and inoffensive we recommended to the favorable consideration of Secretary Dana. I gave him a list of about twenty-eight, whom he agreed to liberate on parole. Most of the married men were allowed to

return to their homes, promising to do nothing to the injury of the United States Government; but the young men were required to promise further, that they would not during the war go into any State in insurrection without permission from the proper military authorities.

From some of the released prisoners, who were reliable men, we procured testimony concerning others yet confined in Carrol Prison, and by this means obtained the liberation of twenty more. Two or three were liberated by the solicitation of others, and about twelve left in prison. In effecting the release of the prisoners, we were employed most of the week, and while thus engaged we learned that another company of prisoners, thirty-two in number, were brought from Loudoun and lodged in Carrol Prison. Among them was A—— R——, who had long occupied a conspicuous place in the State of Virginia, having represented the County of Loudoun in the State Senate and filled other important offices. Like most others of his class in Eastern Virginia, when the State seceded, he was induced to go with her, though he had been strongly attached to the Federal Union.

He has, however, been kind to Union men, and on one occasion, when Southern soldiers were about to seize the goods in our store, he, with others, interposed and saved them. In company with D. V. B. I visited him and some others in prison, and, on representing his case to General Augur, he was brought out and offered the same form of parole that had been granted to others, in order that he might return to his home, but he declined it and returned to prison. He stated his objection to giving the parole nearly as follows: "I have a son and several nephews in the Confederate Army. If they should come to my house I cannot turn them away; and should the Federal troops

approach while they are there, I must take the liberty of warning them to make their escape. This, perhaps, would be considered an act injurious to the Federal cause and therefore a violation of my parole. And moreover, I wish to retain the privilege of expressing freely my sentiments without restraint. I fear the parole would injure me in the estimation of my fellow citizens of Virginia, who have always honored me with their confidence." He was remanded to prison.

Information being received by the War Department that twenty-six citizens of Pennsylvania, carried off by the Confederates, have been prisoners for about a year, and are now in Salisbury, North Carolina, it has been concluded to hold General R—— and twenty-five of his fellow prisoners as hostages, for exchange, and to apprise the Confederate Government at Richmond of the fact.

1864, Eleventh month, 3rd.—Our Yearly Meeting held at Baltimore, has been a season of Divine favor, during which we have been permitted to draw nigh to the Father of Spirits, and to rejoice together in His presence. At the last sitting I felt constrained by a sense of duty to open once more a concern that had come up from our Monthly and Quarterly Meetings some years ago, but which was not then united with by the Yearly Meeting. It was a proposition to offer to the Orthodox Friends, who hold their Annual Assembly in Baltimore, an equitable share of the property held by our Yearly Meeting, to be divided between the two bodies according to the number of members composing each of them in 1828, when the separation took place. The proposition was adopted without a dissenting voice, and the Representative Committee was directed to open a communication with the Orthodox Friends and make them the offer. This concern having

been on my mind at times for many years, I was truly glad that the proposed measure was adopted with so much unanimity.

The Committee appointed to embody the exercises of the Yearly Meeting, produced a minute, which was sent down in the "Extracts" to our subordinate meetings.

The following passages have been selected from it:—

"The sanguinary conflict that now rages in our beloved country, laying waste some of its fairest scenes, bringing to an untimely grave many thousands of its inhabitants, and causing bereavement throughout the land, has called forth the expression of much sympathy for those who are suffering from this awful calamity. It has been our earnest prayer that we may not put our trust in the arm of flesh, but rather rely upon the never-failing arm of Divine power, which sustained our worthy ancestors in seasons of severe suffering, made them instrumental in promoting the cause of Truth, and, in His own good time, delivered them from all their afflictions.

"Our ancient testimony to the peaceable nature of Christ's kingdom, has been made more dear to our hearts, by contemplating the scenes of carnage and destruction that abound in our land. It was doubtless the intention of the Most High in sending his beloved Son into the world, to redeem mankind from the dominion of evil, to influence them by his meek example and sublime precepts, and through the guidance of his pure Spirit, to bring them into harmony and fraternal love. This happy condition was shadowed forth in the figurative language of prophecy: 'The wolf shall dwell with the lamb; the leopard shall lie down with the kid, and the calf and the young lion, and the fatling together, and a little child shall lead them.'

"The primitive Christian Church was the depository of

this pure doctrine, which subsequently became obscured through the false teaching of a corrupt priesthood, and an alliance with the world; but being revived by the early Friends, the precious legacy has been transmitted to us. May we ever remember that the Truth of God can only be promoted by obedience to His spiritual law; and placing the light upon the candlestick by a consistent example, may we keep alive the sacred flame which must spread far and wide, before the prophecy shall be fulfilled, 'The kingdoms of this world shall become the kingdoms of our Lord and of His Christ.'

"We have rejoiced in the announcement that, throughout the State of Maryland, liberty has been proclaimed to the long-oppressed descendants of Africa, and an earnest desire has been expressed in this Meeting, that we may not be unmindful of the great work yet to be accomplished, in extending to the freed people who dwell among us, the benefits of education and Christian care. In contemplating the progress of our testimony against slavery, from its small beginning near the close of the 17th century, to the present day, our hearts are filled with gratitude and love to that Almighty Being who called our predecessors to labor in this cause, and led them safely along through the guidance of His grace. The prophetic language of John Woolman, written nearly one hundred years ago, has been feelingly revived among us, as being now in the process of fulfilment: 'I have seen in the light of the Lord, that the day is approaching, when the man that is most wise in human policy, shall be the greatest fool; and the arm that is mighty to support injustice, shall be broken to pieces. The enemies of righteousness shall make a terrible rattle, and shall mightily torment one another; for He that is omnipotent is rising up to judgment, and will plead

the cause of the oppressed; and He commanded me to open the vision.'

"The Christian duty of dealing with offenders in the spirit of meekness and love, has been, to our minds, a subject of religious exercise, and an earnest desire is felt that at this trying season we may be governed by Divine wisdom, remembering that the first object to be sought is the restoration of the diseased member to health rather than its separation from the body.

"Our Meeting this year has been unusually large, and favored with remarkable solemnity. A considerable number have attended from that section of our country where the scourge of war has exerted its desolating effects. Although great pecuniary losses have been sustained, and personal danger sometimes encountered, we have rejoiced in learning that the Meetings of Friends have been generally kept up, their lives have been preserved from the hand of violence, and amidst all their trials, they have often had cause to rejoice in the Lord."

After the close of the Yearly Meeting I went to Washington and Alexandria, with other members of a Committee appointed by our Quarter, to visit the Friends in those places. We found in Washington a very small body of Friends, who keep up their meetings for worship on First-days, but have dropped them in the middle of the week.

We held conference with them to encourage them in the faithful performance of their religious duties, and on First-day morning we met with them.

The meeting of Friends at Alexandria had been discontinued for more than two years, and the house was now occupied by the Government for a hospital. On First-day afternoon we appointed a meeting in the Town Hall, to

which Friends and others were invited; at the close of which we proposed to hold a conference with those present who wished to see the Friends' meeting in Alexandria re-established. Several families of our members remained with us, and, after conversing with them, it was concluded to meet and confer together in the evening at Dr. Edward Janney's house.

We met accordingly, there being about twenty present, and it proved to be a solemn and satisfactory occasion. It appeared to be the unanimous wish of those present to revive the meeting, and the room where we met being offered for that purpose, it was accepted as a temporary arrangement until their meeting house could be procured.

A few days afterwards two of the Friends applied to the authorities at Washington for the restoration of their meeting house, which was promptly granted, and orders were given for it to be repaired at the expense of the Government.

Leaving Alexandria, I went to Washington, and met there some other members of our Yearly Meeting Committee on Indian concerns.

We waited on the United States Commissioner of Indian Affairs, to whom we represented the condition of the Seneca Indians, who have lately suffered from the ravages of disease.

The Commissioner manifested much interest in the welfare of the Indians, and agreed to grant, from the public funds, some further assistance to the Orphan Asylum on the Reservation.

At Washington I took the cars for Philadelphia. Some detention occurring on the road, we did not reach Baltimore in time to make the usual connection, and being delayed there some hours, we did not start for Philadelphia

until near eleven o'clock at night. After running for about an hour a terrible crash occurred, many of the cars were thrown off the track, and that in which I was seated was whirled round across the track, thrown with violence on its side, and much broken. I felt that we were in imminent danger, and put up a petition to our Almighty Protector, who graciously preserved me from harm, and to Him alone I ascribe the praise. One man, who sat not far from me, was killed, and one, in another car, was so severely injured that he died in a few hours. Many were bruised, but considering the violence of the concussion, it is wonderful that so few lives were lost. It was about midnight, and no house being in sight, the passengers made large fires, using fragments of the cars for fuel. There we remained till morning, when a train from Philadelphia came and took us thither. I went directly to the Quarterly Meeting of Friends then sitting in the City, which I attended with satisfaction.

After visiting my daughter-in-law and grandchildren, in Columbia County, New York, I returned to my home about the 2nd of the Twelfth month, where I found my friends and neighbors much distressed from a calamity that had just occurred.

It appears that Major General Sheridan, commanding the Middle Military Division of the Army of the United States, issued an order, in the Eleventh month, 1864, "to destroy and consume all forage and subsistence, burn all barns and mills with their contents, and drive off all stock," in the region lying between the Shenandoah River and the Catocten Mountain. This measure was intended to prevent the forage and subsistence from falling into the hands of guerilla bands who infest the northern part of Virginia. It was stated in the order, that "no dwellings

were to be burned, and that no personal violence was to be offered to the citizens."

The region of country affected by this order includes the Friends' settlement around Goose Creek Meeting-house, and that in the vicinity of Waterford, as well as the village of Lovettsville, all of which are neighborhoods inhabited chiefly by citizens who have been steadfast in their loyalty to the National Government.

The aggregate loss by Union men was, for property burned, $196,000, and for live stock taken away, about $60,000. That sustained by Friends of our Monthly Meeting at Goose Creek, was about $80,000, and by members of Fairfax Monthly Meeting (held at Waterford), $23,000, including both property burned and live stock taken. No estimate that I know of has been made of the losses of the secessionists, but it must have been almost equally great.

The measure was adopted from military expediency by General Sheridan, but it was evidently a blunder, as well as a great hardship to the people.

After the burning, the troops were withdrawn to the Shenandoah valley, but very soon returned to winter here, and established an encampment near Lovettsville, in this county. The very forage and subsistence they had recently destroyed was then needed by themselves, and supplies had to be brought from Maryland.

One of the principal sufferers in our neighborhood was my brother, Asa M. Janney, whose flouring and saw-mill, with upwards of three thousand bushels of wheat, were burned. He is one of the most thoroughly loyal citizens we have, and one of the most excellent of men.

My own loss was small compared with many others; they did not burn my barn, owing to its proximity to a

dwelling, but they drove away the horses and cattle owned by my son-in-law, W. T. Shoemaker, and myself.

Feeling much sympathy for my neighbors, and especially for the members of our religious Society who were stripped of their property, I wrote to my friends in Philadelphia and New York, describing the condition of affairs here, and stating that some aid will be needed whenever the way opens for the resumption of business in the spring. Our Yearly Meeting last fall having appointed a committee to extend relief to Friends in Virginia who have suffered from the ravages of war, we think the present necessities of those among us who require aid can be supplied from that source.

Our northern Friends have responded promptly and feelingly to our call, committees have been appointed to receive subscriptions, and there is a prospect of liberal contributions being made.*

My neighbors and other Union men in the county, believing that we have a just claim to compensation from the Federal Government for property burned or taken away, requested me to go to Washington and lay our case before Congress. Accordingly I wrote a petition, stating the case and asking for redress, which was soon signed by many loyal citizens. On reaching Washington, I waited on E. M. Stanton, Secretary of War, who gave me no encouragement to hope for any redress from his department. My cousin, Charles P. Janney, of our county, joined me, at my request, and we proceeded to work vigorously, calling on members of Congress and bringing to bear all the influence we could enlist in favor of our petition. The justice of our claim was generally acknowledged, but the immense amount of similar claims expected to be pre-

* Large contributions were received.

sented, together with the enormous expenses of the war, induced some members to doubt the expediency of granting the relief needed by our impoverished fellow-citizens.

Our petition being referred, in the House of Representatives, to the Committee on Claims, we had interviews with the members, and they agreed to report in our favor. A joint resolution, to pay for the live stock taken (about $60,000), was reported, and passed by the House, but the close of the session being very near, it did not pass the Senate.* There was also a bill reported to pay for the property burned belonging to loyal citizens, but it was not acted on in either House.

I returned home in the latter part of the Second month, in time to attend our Quarterly Meeting.

Early in the Third month, 1865, a detachment of Moseby's cavalry, usually called rebel guerillas, came into our county, and began to seize the young men for conscripts in the Southern army; they also proceeded to take one-tenth of all the corn, wheat and bacon, and to impress the wagons and teams of the farmers to transport it. Great alarm spread through the county, many of the young men fled to Maryland to escape conscription, and some who remained were taken; but the soldiers did not relish the business of conscripting, and nearly all were allowed to escape. No members of our religious Society were taken.

One rainy night about dusk, four mounted soldiers,

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* He subsequently had the assistance of other Friends in pressing those claims, and the Forty-second Congress (1872) passed a bill for $61,821.13, to pay the loyal citizens of Loudoun County for the *stock driven* off and sold by the United States Government; but the bill for the property burned and destroyed (for a much larger sum) never became a law, although passed by both Houses of Congress at different sessions.

having with them three conscripts on foot, applied at our house for entertainment. I declined receiving them; but they insisted on staying, and I was under the necessity of admitting them. An hour or two later, three other mounted soldiers came, and would take no denial, so I had to admit them.

Some of the soldiers sat up all night, by turns, to watch the conscripts, who were sleeping on the floor, and the other soldiers slept in the same manner.

Next morning, while the guards were attending to their horses, one of the conscripts fled and was not pursued; the other two were taken forward, but we understood they also escaped, the soldiers not being anxious to recover them.

Third month, 15th.—It is a time of perplexity and solicitude among us: the season is come for farmers to begin their spring work, but they know not what to do. Very few horses or cattle were left by the Federal troops, and those few are liable to impressment by the rebels, who are still engaged in taking away wheat, corn and bacon.

Third month, 21st.—The Federal troops, about one thousand infantry and three hundred cavalry, having come into the county and reached Hamilton, three miles from our house, the guerilla cavalry under Moseby, one hundred and eighty in number, met near our meeting-house (in front of our dwelling), and formed in line. They waited awhile for the approach of the Federals, and then proceeded towards Hamilton to reconnoitre. About half a mile from that place they met the advanced guard of the Union troops, a small body, and fell suddenly upon them, driving them back to their lines, capturing a few, and killing and wounding several.

22nd.—In company with my friend, William Holmes,

I went to Hamilton, to see if any attention towards the wounded or dead was needed. We found the Federal troops had gone and taken another route to Upperville. Some of Moseby's men were there. We entered a house, where we found three dead bodies and one dying man. They were Union soldiers, and we understood four had been buried, and one lieutenant was lying a corpse in an adjoining house. Several wounded soldiers were in the village and near it, one of whom I visited. Two of the rebels, we were told, had been killed, and several were wounded. Finding there was no need of our services, we returned to our homes, passing over the ground where the fight had taken place and where a number of dead horses were lying.

This skirmish was the nearest to our house of any that had taken place, and seemed to bring home to us a lively sense of the horrors of war.

Fourth month, 12th.—We are now looking forward with joy and hope to a termination of this desolating and destructive war, caused by the love of power and gain on the part of southern slaveholders.

On Second-day evening, the 10th inst., we received the gratifying intelligence of Lee's surrender, with the whole rebel army, in Virginia. Our emotions cannot be expressed, but will be remembered by us as long as memory endures.

During four years we have been exposed here to the depredations of the soldiers, our young men liable to rebel conscription, our loyal citizens sometimes arrested and imprisoned by the rebels, the crops on some farms taken or destroyed, and the people kept in a state of feverish anxiety.

Moseby's guerillas, this spring, came into the county,

and compelled the people to entertain them, sometimes stopping at the farmers' houses in squads of ten, twenty or thirty, and remaining without consent of the families where they lodged. We now see few of them, and suppose they will soon be disbanded.

May we feel duly thankful to the Great Ruler of the Universe for this alleviation of our lot, and may we trust in Him alone as the Giver of every blessing.

Fourth month, 19th.—The joy of the loyal people at the prospect of deliverance from rebel oppression and anticipated restoration of the National authority, is suddenly turned into mourning for the loss of our beloved and venerated President, Abraham Lincoln. The news of his assassination, first received here on the 16th, seemed hardly credible, and the blockade at the Federal lines on the Potomac was so rigid, that we could not immediately obtain certain intelligence. On the 17th, we received a newspaper confirming the sorrowful report, and now we feel the sad bereavement which has brought deep and universal distress upon the people of the loyal states. For myself, I can say that I felt for him an affection and reverence that I never felt for any other statesman, and having had some acquaintance with him, I mourn his death as the loss of a personal friend. Many of the secessionists who four years ago reviled his character, having lately become convinced of his benevolent disposition and remarkable lenity towards his enemies, now regret his removal by the hand of the fiendish assassin, and look forward with dread to the rigid measures anticipated from his successor.

Once more we may say the counsels of Infinite Wisdom, in permitting such an event, are inscrutable to man; let us, therefore, submit without a murmur, trust in God, and bow in reverence before Him.

CHAPTER XIX

1868.

With a Minute of Concurrence, with his brother, Asa M. Janney, as companion, attends the Yearly Meetings of Philadelphia, New York and Genesee, and some of the Meetings composing them.

Fifth month, 2nd.—Left home with a prospect of attending in Gospel love the Yearly Meetings of Philadelphia, New York and Genesee, and some of the meetings composing them, and of appointing others, as stated in minutes of concurrence from our Monthly and Quarterly Meetings. My brother Asa went as my companion.

Fifth month, 9th.—Attended two sittings of the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of Ministers and Elders. They were solemn and instructive.

10th, First-day.—We attended, in the morning, the meeting for worship at Race Street. The congregation was very large. Meetings were held in both apartments, and in the school building.

My mind was brought into exercise, and the subject of the new creation in the soul of man, by submitting to the light and power of the Divine Word, was opened and explained.

The beginning and some of the successive steps of this great work were illustrated by the account given by Moses of the outward creation when this Globe was brought into order and prepared for the habitation of man.

My dear friend Thomas Foulke, of New York, followed in an impressive discourse, further illustrating the same subject.

In the afternoon we were at Spruce Street, and in the evening at Green Street meeting, in both of which I had some service.

Fifth month, 11th.—The Yearly Meeting was opened, and much interesting discourse from several Friends was listened to with attention.

Third-day, the 12th.—This morning's sitting was chiefly occupied with the consideration of the answer to the first Query relating to attendance of meetings. It stands in relation to the other Queries as does the first and great commandment in the Decalogue. The worship of Almighty God and obedience to His law are the foundation on which all other duties must rest.

In the afternoon the second Query, relating to love and unity, claimed the attention of the meeting.

Fourth-day.—The forenoon sitting was occupied in considering the answers to the third Query, which relates to plainness of dress and address, the reading of the Holy Scriptures, and abstaining from the reading of pernicious books and corrupt conversation. Plainness of speech implies sincerity and truth. The faculty of communicating our thoughts and feelings is a precious gift that should never be abused by indulging in exaggeration for any purpose whatever.

In the afternoon sitting of Fourth-day, there was much exercise in relation to a free Gospel ministry. I found, towards the close of the discussion, a duty laid upon me to open what I believe the true grounds of the ministry dependent for its authority, its exercise and its compensation on the great Head of the Church. The objection to what is called in our Query "a hireling ministry," is not merely that pecuniary compensation is received for it, but because of the unauthorized assumption of the clergy. A

large class of them, the Roman Catholics, pretend to stand as mediators between God and man, offering up, as priests, what they call the sacrifice of the mass, and asserting that the bread and wine, when consecrated by them, are the real body and blood of Christ. Many of the Protestant clergy assume that they only who are educated for the office and ordained by the imposition of hands are authorized to preach the Gospel; while others among them claim no more than a call to be teachers of the people from a sense of duty. In the exercise of my gift as a minister, I have not found it my duty to denounce those of other denominations who claim the same call, nor to use harsh epithets, but rather to set forth the doctrines and example of Christ and his Apostles in relation to the calling and work of the ministry. We know that the ministry in our Society is much mixed with that which does not properly belong to it; and it does not become us to be censorious, but rather to speak with humility and in charity.

The history of our religious Society shows that the doctrines and testimonies of Friends did not take root or prevail in any part of Christendom except in those countries where the Protestant Reformers had broken the ground and prepared the soil.

They were instruments in the Divine hand, although many of them were of the class called clergy, and were maintained by their churches. Fenelon and Lady Guion were cotemporaries with George Fox and William Penn. They were eminent for their purity and self-denial; few have been more devoted than they were to the service of God, and yet they did not see their way out of the Church of Rome, but retained their connection with it.

They doubtless lived up to the light they had, and were eminently useful in their day. If they had seen further,

and gone to the length that George Fox did in exposing superstition and corruption in the Church, they would in all probability have been put to death, as thousands of other devoted Christians have been.

Some persons suppose that all the faithful disciples of Christ will be enlightened in proportion to their obedience; but it appears that Infinite Wisdom adapts His dispensations and imparts His gifts according to the condition of His people and the services required of them. There is a superintending Providence that controls the order of events, not impairing the free agency of man, and there is given to every devoted soul a measure of grace sufficient to save it and to make it instrumental in promoting the salvation of others.

Fifth-day, 14th.—Meetings for Divine worship were held. I attended at Race Street, where the audience was very large. Several communications in the line of the ministry were made,—most of them lively. I thought I was favored with authority to preach the Gospel. The language of the Prophet Daniel was brought to view: "The Most High ruleth in the kingdom of men, and giveth it to whomsoever He will, and setteth up over it the basest of men."

The overruling providence of God in the affairs of men, and the guidance of His grace in the progress of the soul towards the spiritual kingdom were the chief subjects dwelt upon. The calling of Abraham, the preservation and fidelity of Joseph, the deliverance of the Israelites from the house of bondage, the giving of the Law, and the establishment of that people in the Land of Canaan, were cited as instances of Providential interposition, wherein the free agency of man was in no case violated, but all things were made to work together for good to those who

loved God. The coming of the Son of God, the effect of his ministry, his miracles and his sufferings, were dwelt upon as evidences of the goodness and mercy of God, who so loved the world that He gave His only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth on him should not perish, but should have everlasting life. The effect of his sufferings, death and resurrection was to bear witness to the truth,—to reconcile men to God and to establish the Gospel dispensation. It is His life, His spirit and power, that saves the soul by an inward change wrought in the character of those who submit to His government.

Fifth-day, afternoon.—The meeting for discipline was held, and again continued on Sixth-day till about two o'clock p. m., when it closed in a season of sweet solemnity and under a feeling of thankfulness for the evidences of Divine favor we had been permitted to enjoy.

There was held at Race Street Meeting House, on Fifth-day evening, a conference of Friends' First-day School Association, at which delegates were present from Philadelphia, Baltimore, Indiana and New York. The exercises were very interesting and the reports encouraging.

On Seventh-day, the 16th, we had an appointed meeting for worship at Norristown.

On First-day, attended in the morning at the Valley Meeting House, and in the afternoon the Circular Meeting at Radnor. The two latter were particularly favored with solemnity and power.

On Second-day evening we reached Bristol, and held an appointed meeting. I thought I was favored to preach the Word of Life.

We then proceeded to attend the following meetings, viz.: Falls, Middletown, Wrightstown, Newtown, Makefield, and Trenton, N. J.

They were all good meetings; but at Newtown and Trenton especially I thought the stream of Gospel ministry flowed most freely, and tenderness of feeling was manifested by many. May the Lord of the harvest bless the work.

Fifth month, 22nd.—Arrived in New York.

23rd.—Attended the sittings of the Meetings of Ministers and Elders. They were seasons of lively religious exercise.

24th.—In the morning, at Fifteenth Street, the congregation was large, and several other ministers present. I found it my duty to declare the Word of Truth, as I thought, with acceptance to the people.

In the afternoon attended the meeting at Brooklyn, which was large and ended well.

25th.—The Yearly Meeting was opened, the reports from the Quarterly Meetings, read as usual, and some of the epistles from other Yearly Meetings; the others postponed to a future sitting.

In the evening attended a conference of the First-day school teachers and of others who felt an interest in this important concern. The right training of the youth and their religious instruction in the great truths recorded in the Scriptures, were the subjects that engaged our attention, and I found it my duty to offer a word of encouragement to those engaged in this work.

26th.—The Yearly Meeting was occupied in considering the answers to the Queries and the condition of the Society. Many lively testimonies were delivered. The exhortations of George Truman were particularly good, and the meeting was considered very instructive.

In the evening we met the Freedmen's Aid Association, where interesting and encouraging reports from the colored schools supported by Friends in the Southern States were

read. Being called upon to express my views on the subject, I did so at some length, giving an account of our schools in Virginia, and showing the necessity of continued labor in this field for some time to come.

27th.—Meetings for worship were held in the several meeting houses. I attended at Twenty-seventh Street, which was lively and instructive.

In the afternoon we visited the Women's meeting. George Truman was with us, both of us having obtained permission the day before. He spoke very feelingly, and at considerable length. I followed him, in a discourse on the origin of Women's meetings for discipline, instituted by George Fox about two hundred years ago. The tendency of these meetings to educate the female mind in the qualities of self-reliance, reflection and religious effort, was brought into view, and the responsibility that rests upon that portion of our Society, as mothers, wives and sisters was set forth.

In the evening we were at a meeting to promote the interests of Swarthmore College, which was well attended and lively.

28th.—Two sittings of the Yearly Meeting were held, in which much interesting and instructive counsel was handed forth by many.

In the evening a conference on First-day schools was held, which was encouraging.

29th.—The Yearly Meeting closed under a feeling of precious solemnity, the wing of Divine goodness being extended over us, and it was thought to be the most interesting and encouraging one held here for many years. The subject of education was much discussed, and felt to be highly important.

30th.—Held an appointed meeting at Flushing, Long

Island. It was small, but satisfactory. Our friend, Thomas Foulke, was with us.

31st.—At Matinicock I was enabled to speak on the calling and mission of the Apostle Paul, showing that by becoming obedient as he was to the revelations of Divine grace, and not consulting with flesh and blood, we may all become, not only "almost Christians," but altogether "devoted to the Lord's service."

In the afternoon, we had an appointed meeting at Jericho, which was rather small, and I felt but little power to preach the Gospel.

Sixth month, 2nd.—Attended meetings at Bethpage and Jerusalem. The former small, the latter better attended and more lively. Subject of discourse, The Mission of Christ.

3rd.—Was at the regular meeting at Westbury, and in the afternoon went to the house of Edmund Willets, at Manhasset, where we met a company of Friends who came to see us. They were members of an association that supports a colored school at Lincoln, Virginia, and wished information in relation to the condition and prospects of the colored people in our state. We had a very pleasant interview with them.

4th.—Attended the regular meeting at Manhasset. I thought it was favored with the evidence of Divine life. In the evening, had an appointed meeting at Brooklyn.

5th.—Attended a meeting in the City of New York, appointed for me, at Friends' Meeting-house, Fifteenth Street. In the early part I felt depressed and discouraged, but was, through Divine aid, enabled to open and declare some of the most important doctrines of Christianity reating to the coming of Christ in the flesh, the nature of his spiritual kingdom, the effect of his sufferings and resur-

rection, the spreading of the Gospel, the Apostasy, the Protestant Reformation, and the rise of the Society of Friends.

It was considered by my companion and some others, a highly favored meeting, but I felt humbled with the thought that I had not done justice to the important subjects embraced in my discourse.

7th.—Went from New York to Poughkeepsie in a steamboat. The beautiful scenery on the Hudson and the agreeable company we had, rendered the trip truly delightful.

8th.—Attended meeting in the morning at Poughkeepsie, and in the afternoon at Pleasant Valley. In both places ability was given me to declare the Word of Life.

9th.—Held an appointed meeting at Ghent. It was solemn and impressive, the Word of Consolation being preached to the sorrowing and afflicted. After visiting the meetings at Chatham and Albany, we went, by rail, to Niagara Falls, and spent a day there very pleasantly in viewing the wonderful cataract and other grand and beautiful scenery.

12th.—We proceeded on our way, by rail, to Lewiston, and thence, by steamboat, to Toronto, C. W., where we took the cars for Duffin's Creek Station. At Sherman Brown's we have found a very pleasant home. There are about forty-seven Friends, besides their own family, lodging in this house, and very hospitably entertained.

Margaret Brown (widow of Nicholas Brown), is now in her eighty-sixth year. Her mental faculties are much weakened, and her memory impaired by age, but she is very cheerful and happy, the sweet sense of Divine life and love being still fresh, showing that the decay of the

corporeal nature does not affect the immortal part. She appears in the ministry in brief and lively communications, having the unction of the Holy Spirit.

Sixth month, 13th.—We attended the meeting of ministers and elders, which was satisfactory.

14th.—The meeting in the forenoon was much crowded, but very orderly and solemn. I was favored with ability to open with clearness the subject of Christ's mission and the nature of his spiritual kingdom. In the afternoon there were many communications, most of them brief and lively.

Second and Third-days were occupied with the business of the Yearly Meeting, one sitting only each day.

Fourth-day a meeting for Divine worship was held, which was satisfactory, and in the evening of the same day, Thomas Foulke and I held one at Whitby, where we were enabled, through the condescending goodness of God, to preach the Gospel of Life and salvation through Christ.

Sixth month, 18th.—The Yearly Meeting concluded. It was considered highly satisfactory, being favored with the evidence of Divine Life through which the business was transacted in harmony and love. My dear brother Asa, proceeded homeward immediately after the close of the meeting, having remained with me as long as he expected when he left home. His company has been truly grateful and encouraging.

The same day I proceeded, in company with John Hillborn and wife, to their residence, at Uxbridge, and on the morrow attended an appointed meeting there, and the next day one at Whitchurch.

21st.—We were at King in the morning, and at Yonge Street in the evening. They were both good meetings, but the latter more particularly favored. The subject

expounded was the first calling of the Gentiles through the ministry of Peter, the conversion of Cornelius, the doctrine then preached, and the terms of salvation through Christ. A number of Orthodox Friends were present.

22nd.—My friend, Nathan Dennis, accompanied me as companion, and we proceeded, by rail, to Lobo, where we held an appointed meeting, thence to Yarmouth. I was there favored to preach the doctrine of regeneration with life and power, for which I feel thankful to the Author of all our blessings.

25th.—Attended an appointed meeting at Malehide. It was small, and to me proved laborious. I have felt humbled under the consciousness of poverty and weakness, and trust the Lord will be near to guide and keep me in this very responsible service.

26th.—Held an appointed meeting at Norwich; then travelled one hundred and fifteen miles to Pelham. It was formerly a large meeting, but the number of members is now much reduced. There was a full attendance of Friends and others, and the stream of Gospel ministry flowed freely, for which I felt thankful to the Author of all Good.

28th.—Traveled fifteen miles to Black Creek, where we had a good meeting, and the same day went to Buffalo, and held one in a large hall. Our friend, T. Foulke, joined in the appointment. We both had satisfactory service in the ministry. He afterwards went with me to see the Indians on the Cattaraugus Reservation. We went by rail to Angola, thence in a buggy, eight miles, to the house of Ashur Wright. He and his wife treated us very hospitably, and we found them intelligent and agreeable. We visited two Indian families, but found only the women and children at home, the husbands being in the fields at

work. Many of them have farms pretty well cultivated, comfortable houses, and other evidences of civilization. We saw three schools. One of them was taught by an Indian girl named Harriet Two-Guns; another, more advanced, by an interesting white woman named Clark. The Orphan Asylum interested us very much. It is a well-arranged and well-kept institution, in which a hundred orphans and destitute Indian children are boarded, clothed and educated at an expense of about one hundred dollars each. We witnessed some of the exercises in the school, which were very interesting. The institution is now in want of funds, the Legislature of New York having this year appropriated only fifty dollars for each scholar, but the state has extended its public school system over the reservation, and a number of schools are provided for the Indian population. This state has, I believe, acted with more liberality to the Indians than any other.

Sixth month, 30th.—We attended the Quarterly Meeting held at East Hamburg, and after visiting a number of meetings in western New York (in some of which my friend, John J. Cornell, labored with me), we came to Macedon, where I found openness for religious service. I began by quoting the text, "We look for a better country that is an Heavenly." Although we have cause to be thankful for the temporal blessings we enjoy here, in a world admirably adapted to supply our natural wants and to develop our intellectual faculties, we must remember this is not our permanent home, but only our temporary abode in this state of probation.

The beneficent Author of our being, who has so well provided for the sustenance of our bodies, requires, on our part, labor to appropriate and enjoy His gifts; and so in the spiritual relation He has provided for the sustenance

of our souls by the Word of Life, or Seed of the Kingdom sown in the heart, which is His best of gifts, but its growth depends upon our watchfulness, obedience and reliance upon Him. We must ask if we would receive; we must knock to have the Heavenly treasury opened to us; we must labor, not for the bread which perisheth, but for that which endureth unto everlasting life.

8th.—Attended the stated meeting at South Farmington. It is usually very small, but notice being given, many attended not in membership with us, and I found considerable openness for religious communication, which afforded the reward of peace.

9th.—Attended the usual meeting at Farmington, in the house where the Yearly Meeting is held every other year. The house is very large, and the small congregation being scattered over it, had rather a discouraging effect upon my mind. After a long interval of silence, I felt called to deliver a brief communication, which I believe was acceptable and, I trust, helpful to some.

In the afternoon of the same day, I went to Canandaigua and took the cars to Elmira, where I had a few hours' rest, and on the following afternoon arrived in Baltimore. Leaving that city next morning, I reached home on the 11th of Seventh month, and had the satisfaction to find my wife and children well.

In this journey I have been absent from home seventy-two days, have travelled two thousand one hundred miles, and attended eighty-four meetings, of which fifty-eight were for Divine worship and twenty-six for discipline. A large proportion have been attended with the evidence of Divine Life, some of them eminently favored, and I feel that I have great cause to be thankful to the Good Shepherd, who "putteth forth His own sheep and goeth before them."

In many places I fear luke-warmness prevails, and that some meetings are on the decline, but there are others where there has been some revival of interest, and an increased attendance within a few years past. May the Author of all Good cause His blessing to attend the work and call many more to partake of his bountiful table.

CHAPTER XX.

1869.

Reflections upon his sixty-ninth birth-day—Meets the Committee on Indian Concerns, in Baltimore—A proposition before them from General Grant, that they should take charge of some of the Western Indians—They accept the charge—Part of the Indian committee wait on the Secretary of the Interior and Commissioner of Indian Affairs—Meets the Indian committee in Baltimore, where his name is proposed for Superintendent of Indian Affairs—Accepts the appointment—Makes preparations for a long absence from home.

1869, First month, 18th.—It is just one week since I entered my sixty-ninth year. The ebbing tide of life admonishes me that I am drawing near to the shore of eternity, and I earnestly pray that the Almighty arm, which has hitherto been my support and has helped me in many a trying hour, may still be with me to the end. I acknowledge, Oh, Heavenly Father! that I am unworthy of Thy many favors. I have been a transgressor of Thy law written in my heart; and although I have, through Thy mercy for many years past, endeavored to walk before Thee in humility and obedience, yet I feel that I am very deficient in watchfulness, in fervency of spirit, and in devotion of heart. Be pleased, therefore, Oh, Most High!

to draw me nearer to Thyself, and through Thy grace to bring me more into conformity with Thy beloved Son, Jesus Christ, "the way, the truth and the life." May I be more fully ingrafted into him, the true vine, and partake of that nourishment which is supplied through him to all the living branches. I believe Thou hast called me to labor in Thy Church, and I thank Thee that Thou hast in many precious seasons been with me, to enlighten my mind and warm my heart with Thy love. May I never presume to take credit to myself for Thy gifts, or seek to adorn myself with Thy jewels. If any good shall accrue from my labors, to Thee alone be the praise.

1869, Third month, 15th.—On the 13th inst. I returned from Baltimore, whither I had gone to meet the Committee on Indian Concerns of our Yearly Meeting. Several Friends from New York, Philadelphia and Ohio, delegated by the representative committees of those Yearly Meetings, were also in attendance.

We met on the 6th inst. to consider a proposition sent us by President Grant, before his inauguration, in relation to the Western Indians. It was conveyed by a letter from E. S. Parker (an Indian), who was one of General Grant's staff, viz.:

"General Grant, the President-elect, desirous of inaugurating some policy to protect the Indians in their just rights, and enforce integrity in the administration of their affairs, as well as to improve their general condition, and appreciating fully the friendship and interest which your Society has ever maintained in their behalf, directs me to request that you will send to him a list of names, members of your Society, whom your Society will endorse as suitable persons for Indian agents."

This letter, addressed to the secretary of our committee, Benjamin Hallowell, was read and considered.

It was unanimously concluded, that there is in the duties of an Indian agent nothing incompatible with the principles of Friends, and our secretary was directed to issue a circular letter to the clerks of the representative committees of the five Yearly Meetings in correspondence with us, and also to each member of our representative committee, giving to Friends the necessary information, and suggesting that the names of suitable Friends who may offer their services should be forwarded to our committee, which is to meet on the 16th of next month. The representative committee of our Yearly Meeting is also to meet the 17th of next month, and the names offered within our Yearly Meeting are to be submitted for its approval.

Being in Baltimore at the time of the Quarterly Meeting, I was at its sittings and the meetings for worship, which were well attended and satisfactory. My dear friend, William Dorsey, from Philadelphia, was there, and we took sweet counsel together, being closely united in Christian fellowship.

On Sixth-day, the 12th inst., I met some members of our Committee on Indian Concerns, in Washington, and waited upon the Secretary of the Interior and the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. We also called on E. S. Parker, and informed him of our action on his letter, which he promised to communicate to the President without delay. I trust the way is about to open for us to take some steps in the great work of civilizing the Western Indians, and I earnestly pray that we may be instrumental in the Divine hand to bring them to the knowledge of the Gospel of Christ, the power of God unto salvation.

On the 17th of the Fourth month, 1869, a convention of Friends, composed of the Committee on Indian Concerns and of the representative committee of Baltimore

Yearly Meeting, and delegates from the representative committees of New York and Philadelphia, convened in Baltimore. The chief business of the convention was to determine who should be recommended by the Society as superintendent and agents of the government in the Indian service, in accordance with the invitation of President Grant. My dear brother, Asa, who was in attendance, had some weeks before felt constrained, by a sense of duty, to offer his services as Indian agent. It was a great trial to himself and family, and a source of regret to his neighbors, that he should make this great sacrifice, for there is no one within my knowledge more generally beloved.

Before the convention met, I was called on by Benjamin Hallowell and Samuel Townsend to express their own desire and that of other Friends, for me to accept the station of Superintendent. I was much surprised, and endeavored to excuse myself on the ground that I had been called to the Gospel ministry, and it required great care and a clear sense of duty to leave my present field of labor.

The Friends urged with earnestness the importance of the mission to which we are called in the Indian country, and said they knew of no other Friend than myself on whom they could all agree. They desired me to take the matter into consideration, which I agreed to do.

I spent almost a sleepless night under deep exercise of mind, and finally came to the conclusion that I would submit to the judgment of friends, provided my wife would give her consent. I have always thought that members of the Church of Christ, when called by the body with unanimity into any service, should be willing to make any sacrifice that may be required, if they find the Spirit of Truth in their own hearts concurring.

Believing, in this case, that it was my duty to accept the appointment (though sorely against my inclination), I requested my brother to return, without delay, to Virginia, and ask the consent of my wife. He very kindly and promptly performed the service, and brought word that she was resigned to the unexpected sacrifice required of her. I consented to my name being brought forward as Superintendent, and there was a unanimous expression of satisfaction on the part of Friends present.

My brother Asa was nominated also with unanimity as one of the agents, and other Friends from our Yearly Meeting and that of Philadelphia were also nominated. Some days after the convention, I went to Washington with the Friends who were appointed a committee to wait on the President of the United States and the Secretary of the Interior and present to them the names of the persons selected.*

During the interval of about a month from the time my name was presented to the President until I started to the scene of my future labors, my time was closely occupied in arranging my affairs for a long absence from home.

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*An account of the interview is found in Benjamin Hallowell's Memorandum of some of the Proceedings of Friends of Baltimore Yearly Meeting in Relation to Western Indians, printed 1869, page 16.

CHAPTER XXI.

1869–'71.

Arrives in Omaha—Names of Agents—Meets with a cordial welcome —Holds a Public Meeting—Visits the Winnebago and Omaha Agencies—The hardships the Winnebagoes had met with from the Government—Writes a petition to the Government for the reimbursement of a large sum of money—Congress refunds it—The first Council—The allotment of land in severalty discussed and agreed to—Addresses them on Religion and Morality—Goes to the Omaha Agency, where the same subjects are discussed in Council with the Chiefs.

I regret that I cannot give a full account of my experience as Superintendent of Indian Affairs in Nebraska, but my time was so much occupied with the duties of the office, and my mind often so much exercised and burdened with cares that I kept no journal and made few memorandums.

The office of the Superintendency was at Omaha, where I arrived on the 26th of the Fifth month, 1869, accompanied by Thomas J. Saunders, who had been engaged as my chief clerk.

We had for fellow travelers my brother, Asa M. Janney, Agent of the Santee Sioux, accompanied by his wife and two daughters, Doctor Edward Painter, Agent of the Omahas, and his wife, and Albert Green, Agent of the Otoes. The other Agents, Jacob M. Troth, Agent of the Pawnees, Howard White, of the Winnebagoes, and Thomas Lightfoot, of the Iowas, Sacs and Foxes, arrived at their several posts in a short time after we reached Omaha.

I left my family at home, they intending to follow as soon as I could make arrangements for their accommodation.

We found in the City of Omaha a cordial welcome, and were assured that the sympathy of the most influential citizens would be with us, wishing us success in our arduous undertaking.

It was said that when the announcement was first made of President Grant's design to employ Friends as Superintendents and Agents, much indignation was expressed by a few persons interested in the furnishing of Indian supplies. This feeling, however, was not expressed to us, and I suppose had subsided.

Having permission from our Monthly Meeting to appoint meetings for Divine worship, I held one in a public hall soon after my arrival, two of our Agents being present, whose sympathy was grateful. It was attended by between one and two hundred persons, and, towards the close, was solemn and impressive. There being in the city some persons formerly connected with our religious Society, or educated among Friends, I invited such to stop at the rise of the meeting, and likewise others who inclined to do so.

A dozen or more accepted the invitation, and we had a pleasant conference.

In the early part of the Sixth month, accompanied by the late Superintendent, H. B. Denham, I visited the Winnebago and Omaha Agencies. I found the moral and physical condition of the Winnebagoes far from satisfactory. Diseases of a scrofulous nature were prevalent among them, arising probably from their uncleanly mode of living in ill-ventilated lodges. Some of them indulged, when opportunity offered, in intemperate drinking; gambling was frequent, and other vices prevailed to some extent.

The disastrous circumstances in which these Indians were placed for some years after their removal from Minnesota, made it necessary for the Government to supply them with subsistence, and at the time of my first visit five thousand pounds each of beef and flour were issued to them every week. They numbered at that time one thousand three hundred and forty-three souls, having been rapidly decreasing for several years. They have abandoned the buffalo hunt, and have in the United States Treasury a large fund, the interest of which is paid them in food, clothing and money.

The Indians of the Winnebago tribe had great cause to complain of the treatment they had received. In the year 1833 they were located in Wisconsin, where they had lived for some generations, but their lands being coveted by white settlers, they were forced to remove to Turkey Creek, about fifty miles west of Prairie du Chien. Some time subsequently, the same cause operating, they were removed to Minnesota, and afterwards a third removal was forced upon them to another part of the same State. There they remained until 1863, on a beautiful and fertile reservation, occupying good farms and houses. They were the firm friends of the Whites, and when the Sioux rose suddenly and massacred a large number of the citizens of Minnesota, spreading terror throughout the State, the Winnebagoes remained quiet and peaceable, as they had always been.

Notwithstanding their friendly and peaceable conduct, their removal from the State was demanded, and, with only a few days' notice, they were required to quit their homes, leaving behind them most of their stock, their implements of agriculture and their growing crops. They were put on board steamboats crowded to excess and short of provisions. Thus they were transported to Crow Creek,

a station in the Territory of Dakota. It is described in one of the official reports as "A sandy beach, on the west side of the Missouri River, in a country remarkable only for the rigors of its winter climate and the sterility of its soil." After enduring sufferings too terrible to relate, and the loss of several hundreds of their tribe by starvation and freezing, they abandoned the inhospitable station to which they had been exiled, and passing down the river in canoes, landed near their present place of residence in Nebraska.

Impoverished and disheartened by their inhuman treatment, they were for some time longer subjected to severe privations, until at length the Omaha Indians consented to sell them a part of their ample reservation, where they are now located. Great as was the injury inflicted upon them by their removal, it was still further aggravated by charging them with the cost of their transportation and subsistence, amounting to upwards of two hundred and thirty-two thousand dollars. This sum was taken out of their tribal funds, derived chiefly from the sale of their lands in Minnesota. I wrote for them a petition to the Government for its reimbursement, which was signed by their chiefs and forwarded to Washington.

The Commissioner of Indian Affairs and the Secretary of the Interior earnestly advocated their request, and an Act of Congress was obtained to refund the amount and invest it for the benefit of the tribe.

In the first council I held with the Winnebagoes, the allotment in severalty of a portion of their lands was a subject of discussion. This important measure had been provided for by an Act of Congress passed in the year 1863, but had been delayed by the refusal of the Indians to give their consent, because they thought that eighty acres to each head of a family would not be adequate to

their wants. The matter being fully explained to them, and earnestly recommended, they freely gave their consent, and expressed their desire that it should take place at an early day.

The survey was soon after commenced and the allotment made.

In my address to the Winnebagoes assembled in council, they were told of the Great Spirit who created the world and of His Son Jesus Christ, who came to teach the way of Truth. They were exhorted to abstain from vicious habits and to live virtuously; to obey the teacher placed in every heart by the Good Spirit; to treat their wives kindly, and not lay heavy burdens on them; to bring up their children in industry and to send them to school; and finally, they were advised to prepare themselves and their children for adopting the habits of the white man and becoming citizens.

From the Winnebago we went to the Omaha Agency, a distance of about ten miles southward. The members of this tribe are more provident and self-reliant than the Winnebagoes. They seldom require any subsistence to be furnished them by the Government, their crops of corn and vegetables and the proceeds of their buffalo hunts being sufficient, with the addition of a small cash annuity secured to them by treaty stipulation.

In a council held by me, in conjunction with Agent Painter, at the Omaha Agency, Sixth month, 3rd, 1869, the chiefs and head men, with many others of the tribe, being present, I addressed them, through an interpreter, nearly as follows:

"Brothers: Your Great Father, the President of the United States, having commissioned me to have the care of my red brethren in the State of Nebraska, I have come

to see you and to say that I wish to do you all the good I can. I belong to the Society of Friends, or Quakers, who have always been friends of the Indians. It is now nearly two hundred years since our fathers met in council with the tribes of red men who lived on the banks of the Susquehanna and the Delaware, and made a treaty of friendship which has never been broken. I suppose some of you have heard of William Penn, whom the Indians of that day called the good Onas. I am one of the children descended from a friend and companion of that great and good man, and I bear the same love to the Indians that he did. Our people, the Friends, or Quakers, have always kept up a friendly intercourse with the Indians, and we have had some of the tribes under our care. Many years ago our Society sent teachers, farmers and mechanics to reside among the Indians on the waters of the Scioto and Wabash, and when the Indians were removed from Ohio, some of the Friends followed them to Kansas, where they are still doing all they can to protect and improve them.

"We have also had Friends residing among the Indians in the State of New York, and have frequently visited them. Last summer I paid a visit to the Senecas on their reservation at Cattaraugus, and found them in a prosperous condition. Many of them had good houses and good farms. They had schools for the education of their children, and were increasing in numbers.

"Brothers, I do not come here to make you many promises; I wish to make few promises and always to keep them. I know that in times past you have often been wronged by white men, but I feel assured that your Great Father at Washington intends to protect you in your rights, and to do you all the good in his power. He has appointed General E. S. Parker, an Indian chief from the State of New

York, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, and he has sent your friends out here to be superintendents and agents.

"One of the most important subjects for you to consider is the allotment of your lands, provided for by a treaty you made with the Government in the year 1865. In that treaty it is stipulated that there shall be assigned to each head of a family one hundred and sixty acres of land, and to each male person eighteen years of age and upwards, without a family, forty acres of land, to include in every case, as far as practicable, a reasonable proportion of timber. It was the intention of the government that these lands should be conveyed to each family by patent in such a manner that they could not be taken from you. I am informed that you have objected to this allotment, because it makes no allowance for your young children, and for this reason it has been delayed. Now I wish you to consider that such a division of a part of your lands will not impair your title to the remainder of the reservation; you will still hold it as you do now. It will, on the contrary, help to secure your title by giving you a firmer hold upon that part to be allotted to your families. I fear the time will come when white men will covet your beautiful and productive reservation, and try to wrest it from you. You should build on it, fence it and break it up this summer, so that it may be ready for planting next spring.

Answer of Fire Chief.—"Grandfather*: When we made the first treaty (that of 1854), all of the tribe were present. They all agreed to the terms of that treaty, and joined in a great war whoop; but as we cannot go by the old treaty, we will accept our allotments under the new one."

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* The Indians always addressed the Superintendent as Grandfather, and their Agent as Father.

Yellow Smoke (*Chief*).—"Grandfather and Father: It is good for you to meet with us, and to tell us about this business. We would be glad if all the great people were here to listen to what has been said. We are very glad that our Grandfather and Father are here. We know that God made us all. I am glad you are all here while I tell you what is in me. In regard to the allotment, it is right that our children should have the same chance as ourselves. We are not against the wishes of our Grandfather and our Father, but we want you to understand our ways. When any one has property he stands his ground and does the best he can. We want to do so too. Grandfather, I am glad to hear the words you have spoken; we want our children to have land as well as money. Our Grandfather has told us that our land belonged to us. We remember this a long time. When I hear this I am glad, and speak as loud as I can. We hear a great deal about you, that you are good people, and that you will do the best you can for us. It is best to do business right when we come to talk before you. We want to make all things satisfactory."

Samuel M. Janney.—"I desire to say, we do not assure you that the land will be given to your children as it is now given to you under the treaty of 1865, but I say that you will have plenty of land left after your farms are set apart to you. I only say, we will do the best we can for you."

Standing Hawk (*Chief*).—"Grandfather and Father: We agree to what you advise us to do. We agree to take the land allotted to us under the treaty of 1865. Grandfather and Father, when we first heard your good people were coming amongst us, we were glad, and we are glad to see you here to-day. We have heard so much about you that we were anxious to see you, and are very

glad to hear what you have said to us. When you said the ground was good, we knew that was true. We raised more than we could use, and have some to sell."

E. Painter (*Agent*).—"My Friends and Red Brethren: It makes my heart glad to meet my brothers of the Omaha tribe in council to-day. What your new Grandfather has said to you is true. I have known him a long time. He will try to have justice done to you. You say that you are agreed to have your lands allotted to you in severalty according to the terms of the treaty of 1865. If this is done, your farms will have to be laid out by a surveyor, and corner-stones, or boundaries, be set, so that each of you will know where his own land comes to. To do this, a surveyor will have to be employed, and this surveyor must be paid. You have a large fund in the hands of the Government, that is left of the money paid by the Winnebagoes for the land you sold them. Are you willing to have the money taken out of this fund to pay for surveying your farms? We think it will cost about five hundred dollars, to pay the surveyor."

Louis Sansouci (*Interpreter*).—"They say they are all agreed to have the surveyor employed and paid out of the fund, as you advise."

Here a petition to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs was written, asking for an appropriation of five hundred dollars to pay for surveying, which was signed by the nine chiefs and witnessed by the Agent and United States Interpreter. The signing by the Indians was done, as usual, by touching the top of the pen while a cross was made and the name of the signer written by a clerk.

The Indians were then asked by the Superintendent whether they wanted any more schools. They had for some years been appropriating out of their tribal funds

three thousand seven hundred and fifty dollars per annum to support a mission school under the control of the Presbyterians, but only a part of the tribe was benefited by it, and the late Superintendent had recommended that the contract with the Board of Missions should be annulled, and the same sum devoted to several schools.

The Indians were now informed that three school houses could be built for about two thousand dollars, and the balance, one thousand seven hundred and fifty dollars, might be used to employ teachers the first year. After the first year, it was supposed that three thousand dollars a year would be sufficient to support three schools.

The chiefs took the proposition into consideration, and unitedly agreed to petition the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to annul the contract with the Mission Board, and apply the funds to the support of these schools.

Their petition was granted by the Commissioner, and carried into effect; three schools were supported from the tribal fund, one of them was kept at the Mission schoolhouse and taught by a member of the Mission family.

In addition to the business matters discussed with the Omahas in this council, I spoke to them in relation to their moral improvement and religious duties.

CHAPTER XXII.

1870.

Some account of the Pawnee Tribe—They are suspected of the murder of a white man—The Superintendent holds a council with the chiefs on the subject—Four Indians are delivered up and taken to Omaha—Their trial—After twenty-two months' imprisonment they are admitted to bail—The chiefs and Superintendent and Agent become responsible for them—Superintendent visits some of the Agencies with a deputation of Friends—Congress appropriates $30,000 for Indian civilization—Letter to a convention of Friends held in Philadelphia—Letter to Benjamin Hallowell—Letter to Commissioner of Indian Affairs.

The largest tribe of Indians in the Northern Superintendency was that of the Pawnees, numbering, in 1869, about two thousand four hundred, and divided into four bands, viz.: Chow-ees, Kit-ka-has, Pe-ta-how-e-rat and Skedees.

The Skedees were formerly an independent tribe, but being conquered by the Pawnees, were incorporated with them, and allowed the same privileges as other members of the tribe. Their language was somewhat different, but by long intercourse, had become assimilated to the Pawnees. In the year 1830, it is said, they numbered twelve thousand, and at that time they made a treaty with the United States Government, by which they agreed to remove their villages to the north side of the Platte River, leaving the south side clear, and ceding the right of way to emigrants. In consideration of these concessions they were to receive an annuity and to have farmers, smiths and teachers sent to instruct them.

They settled at Plum Creek, a branch of the Loup Fork, and efforts were made to teach them letters and farming until 1846, when all the whites were driven out by the Sioux. Two years later the Pawnees abandoned the ground and returned to the south of the Platte, where they joined a remnant of the tribe, who had always remained in their village.

In 1857 they made another treaty with the United States Government, and soon after removed to the north of the Platte, where they settled on a large reservation of fertile land, about one hundred and twenty miles west of Omaha City.

My first visit to the Pawnees was made under very unpleasant circumstances. About three weeks before I entered on the duties of my office, a white man was murdered on an island in the Platte River, and it was generally believed that the murderers were members of the Pawnee Tribe. Soon after being informed of it, I went to the Pawnee Agency, and on the 30th of the Sixth month, 1869, held a council with the chiefs and head men of the tribe, in which the late Agent, C. H. Whaley, acted as secretary. My opening address to the Indians was reported as follows:

"I have been commissioned by your Great Father at Washington, the President of the United States, to promote your welfare, to protect you in your legal rights, and to require you to respect the rights of each other and of the white people around you. I have lately received instructions from the Commissioner of Indian Affairs at Washington, part of which I will now read to you. He says:

"'Care should be taken to inform Indians claiming to be friendly, that they must not violate the laws of the

United States by acts of murder, theft or robbery, that for such crimes the tribe will be held responsible, and their annuities will be withheld until the offenders are delivered up.'

"It is my painful duty to inform you that Edward McMurty was murdered on the 8th of last month, and there is much evidence to show that it was done by one or more members of the Chow-ee Band of Pawnees. This wicked deed was committed on an island in the North Platte River, in the north-east part of Polk County, Nebraska. The body of the murdered man has been found with an arrow sticking in it, and a coroner's jury has given a verdict that Edward McMurty was, on the 8th of May last, willfully and maliciously murdered by members of the Chow-ee Band of Pawnee Indians.

"George D. Grant, one of the witnesses who gave testimony in the case, is here to repeat his testimony in your hearing, in order that you may fully comprehend the grounds on which the verdict is founded.

"I am not willing that the imputation of this crime should rest upon the Pawnee Indians without a full and thorough examination. You may, perhaps, know who committed the wicked deed. If you know, it is your duty to inform us, and it is to the interest of your tribe to have the offender punished.

"If you will deliver up the man or men whom you suppose to be guilty, he or they will be tried before a court of the United States, and will be allowed counsel to plead for them in order that strict justice may be done. If they are found to be guilty, they will have to suffer the penalty provided by law; but if their guilt cannot be proved, they will be acquitted by the court."

The verdict of the coroner's jury was then read and

interpreted in Pawnee, and George D. Grant gave his testimony, which was also interpreted.

Peet-ah-La Shar, the head chief, rose and said: "I lost my friends by the whites last winter. I don't grieve over it much, and did not intend to speak about it to-day. We are afraid, when we go on the hunt, of being killed by white men. Our men were killed last winter when they had done nothing wrong. We also lost a large number of horses; the white men down in Kansas have them. We thought to talk with our Great Father about it, and that he would see us righted. We do not allow our men to kill white men. We send our warriors out with white men to fight the Sioux. We have nothing to eat now. Grasshoppers destroyed our corn last year. We hope you will take care of us."

Superintendent.—"This is a painful business to me, but it is my duty to do it. If it is not settled in some way, there will be continual trouble. I think it is just as wrong for white men to kill Indians as for Indians to kill white men. I am willing to protect you in your rights, but you must respect the laws; you must not kill white men nor steal their horses. The best thing for you is to stay on your reservation. As soon as this business is settled, I intend to ask your Great Father in Washington to give you something to eat."

Mad Bull.—"It was some of my relations that were killed in Kansas last winter. The news has gone to our Great Father long ago, but we hear nothing of it."

Superintendent.—The Indians that were killed in Kansas were beyond my jurisdiction. I have no power or control down there. If you wish to have the men in Kansas punished who wronged you, the best way is to deliver up the men who killed McMurty."

Ter-re-Kah-wah.—"Some of my relations were killed by white men. Twelve of my relations were killed in Kansas. We could do nothing about it. If it had been done by Indians, we should have had our revenge; but as it was by white men, we did nothing in revenge, and do not desire it. About the man killed I have nothing to say; I know nothing of it. We are willing to say nothing about the men we have lost by whites if you will say no more about the white man that has been killed."

Superintendent.—"You have been speaking about men killed in Kansas. I have said I have no jurisdiction there. It is not the way of the white man when his friend is killed to go out and kill the first man he meets. We have laws, and the guilty have to be punished. I hear that your men have been in the habit of going to Kansas after horses. When you go and take their property, they retaliate upon you. You must give up the practice. I will send an account of what you say here to Washington. It is your duty to find out who murdered McMurty, and deliver up the criminal. Under my instructions, I cannot deliver the goods until a greater effort has been made to deliver up the guilty party. I have concluded to stay till to-morrow morning, and if you will find the men that did the murder, I will start wagons for goods, and have some of them here to-morrow night. If the criminals are not delivered up to-morrow morning, I shall go to Omaha and write to Washington for further instructions."

The council being adjourned, some of the members met me next morning, when Peet-ah-La-Shar, the head chief, reported as follows:

"The general talk in the tribe is, that the persons engaged in the murder of McMurty are four in number, and all are members of the Pe-ta-how-e-rat Band of

Pawnee Indians. These four persons are all out with Major North in the United States service as Pawnee scouts."

The result of my conference with the chiefs and head men was, that they agreed to surrender those on whom suspicion rested. The four delivered up and taken to Omaha for trial were named Yellow Sun, Little Wolf, Horse Driver and Blue Hawk. They were kept in prison until the 4th of Eleventh month, when they were brought before the United States District Court, Judge Dundy presiding.

The prosecution was conducted by S. A. Strickland, United States Attorney, and the defence by C. S. Chase, whom I had employed under instructions from the Commissioner of Indian Affairs.

It was found exceedingly difficult to obtain an unprejudiced jury. Out of thirty jurors called, fifteen were excused on the ground of their enmity towards Indians. The trial excited deep interest, being the first of the kind that had taken place at Omaha. The jury brought in a verdict, guilty of murder, in which the four prisoners were all implicated; and the counsel for the defence moved an arrest of judgment on the ground that the United States Court had no jurisdiction in the case, because the murder was not committed on the reservation, but on territory subject to the laws and jurisdiction of Nebraska. The court being doubtful of its jurisdiction in this case, remanded the prisoners to jail in Omaha, and postponed further proceedings to another time.

In the Second month, 1870, the court met, and the case of the four Pawnee prisoners was again postponed until the Fifth month following.

In my correspondence with the Commissioner of Indian

Affairs, I recommended, in case the death penalty should be pronounced against these Indians, that Yellow Sun's sentence should be commuted to imprisonment in a penitentiary for life, and that Little Wolf and Horse Driver be imprisoned in the same for one year. I believed that Blue Hawk was innocent, and recommended his pardon. The evidence against Little Wolf and Horse Driver was not conclusive, it only proved that they were on the island at the time of the murder. Yellow Sun was considered guilty both by whites and Indians, and during his imprisonment the other three Indians in the same cell would have no intercourse with him. He sat alone in silence, and had to eat alone.

At a subsequent term of the United States Court, Judges Dillon and Dundy decided that they had no jurisdiction in the case, and the four Pawnees were surrendered to the State authorities.

They were indicted by a grand jury in Butler County, and the case transferred, by a change of venue, to Lancaster County, to be tried at Lincoln, the capital of the State. I attended the court there several times, with our counsel and witnesses always ready, but the prosecuting attorney was never ready.

On the 5th of Sixth month, 1871, after the Indians had been prisoners about twenty-two months, most of the time in Omaha, our counsel presented a petition on their behalf, praying for their discharge. By a writ of *habeas corpus*, they were brought before Judge Lake, at Omaha, and he decided to admit them to bail, if the chiefs would become responsible for their appearance at the next term of the court, to be held in the fall. He required the four chiefs to enter bail in the penalty of five thousand dollars, and Agent Troth and myself jointly in the penalty of one

thousand dollars. The chiefs readily accepted the terms, pledging their annuity money to that amount, and J. M. Troth and I agreed to become sureties on the bond, although we thought it ought not to have been required of us. They were then released from jail, and went home with their agent rejoicing in their freedom. After some further delays, the prosecution was abandoned and the sureties released from their bonds.

The Indians bore their long imprisonment with patience, and evinced gratitude to visitors who made small contributions to promote their comfort. It was my practice, while at home in Omaha, to visit the prison every First-day afternoon; at first to see the Indians, and afterwards to hold religious meetings within the audience of the other prisoners.

In the summer of 1869, a deputation of Friends visited the Indian Agencies in the Northern Superintendency. Benjamin Hallowell represented the Indian Committee of Baltimore Yearly Meeting; Franklin Haines, that of New York; and Philadelphia Friends were represented by John H. Dudley, of New Jersey, and Joseph Powell and wife, from Pennsylvania.

I accompanied them to all the agencies except one, which I had recently visited. I enjoyed their company and appreciated their suggestions in regard to the management of Indian affairs.

In a memorial addressed to Congress, in the Third month, 1870, by a convention, representing six Yearly Meetings of Friends, they asked for an appropriation of one hundred and forty thousand dollars, to promote the civilization of the Indians, by supplying them with agricultural implements and live stock, to establish schools, and to pay teachers. An appropriation of thirty thousand

dollars was granted, which I distributed among the several tribes in the ratio of their population.

In the memorial, reference was made to the condition of the Indians in the Northern Superintendency, as seen by our visiting committee. "These wards of the Government," they say, "were found in a very depressed and degraded condition, as a general thing, poor, hungry, idle from want of means and inducements to labor; destitute of suitable clothing; complaining of unfulfilled treaty stipulations; living in lodges, with several families in a single apartment, thus excluding that healthful privacy which decency and virtue require; the lodges dark, unventilated, often filthy, and as a consequence of this condition, sickness extensively abounding, especially among the children — scrofulous gatherings and ulcers, sore eyes, debility and consumption."

"*To the Convention of Friends to be held at Philadelphia on Indian Concerns:*

"OMAHA, Fourth month, 29th, 1870.

"DEAR FRIENDS:

"Believing that some information concerning the condition and prospects of the Indians in the Northern Superintendency will be useful and interesting to the convention, I submit the following report:

"At the Santee Agency the survey of the allotments of land in severalty is well advanced, and the Indians are eager to occupy their farms as soon as houses can be built. A new steam saw-mill has been put in operation, a large number of saw-logs are in readiness, and lumber is being rapidly prepared for building purposes. The Agent expects the Indians to do most of the work in erecting their own houses. He has contracted for machinery to build a flouring-mill on Bazille Creek, which affords a sufficiency of water power. He has seeded about one hundred acres with spring wheat, and intends to

put in a corn crop on the Agency farm. The schools are flourishing, and the Indians manifest a disposition to help themselves by honest labor. The condition of the tribe is very encouraging.

"At the Winnebago Agency about three hundred acres of prairie land were broken by Indian labor last summer to prepare for a crop this year. The Agent writes: 'We are getting along very nicely with our work, having finished sowing about four hundred acres of wheat several days ago; it is now coming up and looking well. We are at this time plowing for corn and preparing to build fence.' The allotment of land in severalty is well advanced towards completion. The schools, according to the last information I received, were in a satisfactory condition.

"From the Omaha Agency the Agent writes: 'Industry and thrift are now taking the place of idleness and improvidence. The men work well, and even the old chiefs now shoulder their axes and go into the timber to work with the rest.' The timber they have been cutting is for their own use, to be sawed into lumber for the building of their houses. The past winter was the first in which they have had the care of their own cattle. Though steadily worked, they are now in good condition, and not one has died, so far as the Agent has learned. Only one day school has yet been established, though many express a desire to go to school that cannot be accommodated. Funds are much needed for the support of more schools.

"At the Pawnee Agency a disposition has been manifested recently by many of the men to engage in agricultural labor, which has hitherto been performed almost exclusively by the squaws. The sum of four thousand dollars, deducted from their annuity last fall by direction of the chiefs, has, in accordance with their wishes, been applied this spring to the purchase of wagons, harness and plows. They have a very large number of ponies, which were of little use except when they went on the hunt; some of these have been broken to work, and are now used for agricultural purposes.

"A considerable area of land has been prepared for a wheat crop, and is probably sown by this time. These Indians generally raise a large supply of corn. The Manual Labor School is flourishing and now numbers seventy-five Indian boys and girls, who are boarded, clothed and taught the most useful branches of an English education. The boys are taught to work on the farm, and the girls instructed in

household work. The Agency farm is cultivated by the labor of the boys and of young men who have been educated in the school.

"The Agent of the Otoes and Missourias writes: 'The condition of the tribe is very promising, and I think its prospects are gradually growing better. A day school, under the care of an experienced teacher, is progressing satisfactorily, but its existence does not do away with the necessity of an Industrial School.'

There has been much sickness in the tribe, and about thirty children have died, mostly from measles. The practice of bleeding for the cure of most diseases is very common with the Indians, and often injurious. The funds sent by Friends for the supply of suitable food for the sick has been of great service, and in some instances medical aid has been supplied from the same source. All the children of the tribe have been clothed by the Society of Friends, and now present a very creditable appearance. They attend school with cheerfulness.

"From the Great Nemaha Agency I returned yesterday. There has recently been much sickness among the Indians, chiefly from measles, but a skillful physician living within six miles of the reservation, has attended them, and the deaths have been few.

"The Iowa Tribe is evidently much improved since I first saw it, and many of the men who were formerly intemperate and idle, have reformed, and are now sober and orderly in their habits. The school, taught by Mary B. Lightfoot, is well attended, and the progress of her pupils encouraging. The supplies of clothing for the women and children, and suitable food for the sick, furnished by the Friends, have been faithfully appropriated and gratefully received.

"It will be seen by the foregoing account of the several agencies, that we have no cause for discouragement. Some progress has already been made, and we trust that much more will be accomplished through patient and persevering effort, under the providential care and guidance of the Universal Father who called us to this interesting field of labor.

"The Friends engaged in this work are harmoniously co-operating for the advancement of our red brethren in their moral and social condition, preparatory, as I hope, to their acceptance of the blessed truths of the Christian religion. I am fully assured that no teaching of religious truth will be of much avail without a pure and consistent example on the part of the Agents, employés and traders, who are

entrusted by the United States Government with the responsible duty of watching over the Indians, supplying their wants and instructing them in the arts of civilized life.

"With this view I have uniformly recommended to the Agents, that when changes are made in the employés and traders, a preference should be given to such members of our Society as feel a religious concern for the welfare of the Indians and can harmoniously co-operate with us. It is exceedingly desirable that men with families should be sent in preference to others, for the presence and good example of pious and refined women, who are willing to visit the Indians and instruct them in their domestic duties, will be more effectual than any other means we can employ for their civilization.

* * * * * * * *

"Liberal contributions have been sent from nearly all the Yearly Meetings, and thousands of hearts have been gladdened by the well-timed charities of Friends.

S. M. JANNEY,
Superintendent of Indian Affairs."

"WINNEBAGO AGENCY, NEB., Sixth month, 4th, 1870.

"B. HALLOWELL:

"*Dear Friend.*—I am stopping here on my way back from the Santee Agency, which I visited in company with our friends Joseph Mead and Benjamin Chase. During the last three weeks I have passed through much trouble and solicitude in the performance of my official duties. On the 10th of last month I received information that the Winnebago Indians were in a very dissatisfied condition, and that they wanted to see me. I started next morning, accompanied by my daughter Cornelia, and arrived at the Agency on the 13th. In the meantime, Agent White and wife had gone to Omaha to see me, and we missed each other on the way. They came back immediately, and we held a council on the 16th, in which the Indians brought forward their complaints.

"One grievance was, that in the allotment of lands the timber land had been left out, to be used in common by the tribe, because it was at one end of the reservation, and the land too much broken to be fit for tillage. The same arrangement had been made by Agent Painter, and the Omahas were satisfied with it.

"The Winnebagoes insisted that their timber land, where many of them live and where some of the chiefs have houses, should be allotted, and my statement, that it was unfit for tillage and unhealthy to live on, made but little impression. They said, when God willed them to die, they would die anywhere. They acknowledged that Agent White was an honest man, but they found fault with him because he had not had houses built for them. I defended him, showing that he had not received money to build them with, and informed them that some of our Friends would be here in a few days, when I would see them again, and encouraged them to go to work for themselves.

"The next day I returned to Omaha City, and found at our house Joseph Mead and Benjamin Chase, who had come as a committee to visit the Indians. I staid at home a day, and then took the Friends in my wagon and started back to the Agencies. We spent one day at the Omaha Agency, where we found things in a satisfactory condition. I was particularly pleased to see how large a quantity of timber the Indians had cut and hauled for building their houses. Their allotment of land having been ordered and completed before those of the other agencies, gave them an earlier start in the selection of their farms.

"We held a meeting for worship at the Omaha Agency on First-day morning, the 22nd of Fifth month, and then went to the Winnebago Agency, where we held one on the evening of the same day.

"On Second-day we went to look at the timber land on the Winnebago Reservation, and on Third-day, the 24th, we held a council with the tribe. The Indians had complained that they had not cattle to work with. I told them we had concluded to issue to them all the oxen, consisting of thirty-five pairs, all the cows and bulls, numbering one hundred and sixty-eight, and all the young cattle. These cattle had been bought for them by our predecessor in office and never issued, because, they said, the Indians would not take care of them. I found the cost of cutting hay to winter them, and paying the wages of three herders, amounted to twice as much as the yearly increase of the cattle was worth, and I thought it best for the Indians to have them in their care. This issue of the cattle was very satisfactory to the Indians, but they still insisted on the allotment of the timber land, and the objections expressed by myself and the committee of Friends were unavailing. Finding them apparently unanimous, we agreed to grant their request on the following conditions:

1st. The timber and fire-wood still to belong to the tribe, to be used in common.

"2nd. The timber land to be allotted to families, in lots of forty acres each, and forty acres more on the prairie to be allotted to each of the same families.

"3rd. No houses to be built for them in the timber, but those living there may be assisted in building houses on their prairie lots.

"This plan has given general satisfaction, but we hope they will come out of the timber and live on the prairie before long. They found no further fault with Agent White, and the council ended well. The committee thought some person or persons had been secretly at work to render the Indians dissatisfied with the Agent.

"In the evening, after the council adjourned, two citizens of Cummings County arrived at the Agency, who reported that a white settler, named Oscar P. Munson, had been murdered in Wayne County, just beyond the boundary of the reservation, and they suspected that the Winnebago Indians had done it. The body of the deceased was found near his plow; the head was cut off and could not be found. The deed had been done on the Fifth-day preceding (Fifth month, 9th,)and the body was not found until First-day.

"We spent many hours on Fourth-day, the 25th, in the examination of witnesses, in the presence of chiefs and other Indians, but could obtain no testimony sufficient to warrant the imprisonment of the five Indians suspected of the murder.

"On Fifth-day morning, as we were about to start away, other testimony was offered, and we spent the forenoon of that day in examining witnesses separately and apart from the other Indians. We concluded there was sufficient testimony to hold them and to deliver them up to the civil authority for further examination. I requested Agent White to put them in the log jail here and to set a guard over them, and wrote a letter to General Strickland, United States District Attorney at Omaha, for instructions to be sent to Agent White.

"On Fifth-day afternoon, we started for the Santee Agency, and arrived there on Seventh-day afternoon. We found the family of my brother (Agent A. M. Janney), well, except himself, but he was able to ride with us over part of the reservation. The lumber for the flouring-mill and the miller's house has been sawed, and Indians are engaged in digging the foundation for the mill, quarrying stone, burning lime and hauling logs. They are doing well, and are contented.

"We had a meeting for worship on First-day afternoon, attended by a very large number of Indians, in the new hospital building, which is not yet completed. It was a good meeting. Next day we held a council, which was satisfactory.

"Third-day we left the Santee Agency, and reached the Winnebago on Fifth-day, the 2nd inst. We found that Agent White had gone to West Point, Cummings County, with the five Indian prisoners, who had been demanded by the sheriff.

"Yesterday I held a council with the chiefs by themselves, and then another with the young men and other Indians who had of their own accord gotten up and signed a paper, requesting permission to form themselves into a "civilized band," as they had determined to adopt the dress and customs of white people. I told them of the great excitement that now exists around us on account of the murder, which everybody here believes was committed by the five young Winnebagoes sent to prison. They were evidently much troubled, and begged me to do all I could to keep the tribe on the reservation. The young men and most of the middle-aged in the council voted for a resolution, suggested by themselves, requesting the Superintendent and Agent to remove all the old chiefs, because they are opposed to civilization.

"This morning our friends, Joseph Mead and Benjamin Chase went to the Omaha Agency, and I expect to join them there to-morrow evening, after holding a meeting here with the Indians in the morning.

"Omaha Agency, Sixth month, 6th.—Agent Howard White came home on Seventh-day afternoon and reported that the five Indian prisoners had been committed for trial, and would be taken to the jail at Fremont. The citizens at West Point were as moderate as could be expected under the circumstances, and no disposition to deal with them illegally was manifested. Agent White employed the best counsel he could obtain to defend them.

"At the Agency the conviction grows continually stronger that some of them, and perhaps all five, are guilty of the murder. We received information from various sources, that their leader, named Hookah, had told several of the Indians he had killed a white man and cut off his head. It is said they shivered the head and divided the scalp among the five, and that it is now in some of the tepees, or Indian dwellings. Hookah pretends to be a prophet, and has been deluding the young men.

Yesterday Agent White and I had a consultation with some of the white employés in whom we could confide. All expressed their belief that the chiefs had endeavored to screen the prisoners by false testimony, and that we ought to depose them all, and put in their places a new set of men, not connected with the "medicine band," with which the old chiefs are associated. The chiefs have for years stood in the way of improvement, and most of them are known to be corrupt. The only exception is White Breast, who proposed some time ago to resign. We have concluded that this change is necessary, and that it can be made now more successfully than at any other time, because the chiefs are humbled and fear that the whites will insist on removing the tribe. It is to be done as soon as Agent White can determine on suitable men for their successors.

"Omaha, Sixth month, 7th.—We arrived here this afternoon, and found all well. I have prepared a statement for the press, which I suppose will appear in the Omaha papers to-morrow. We expect to go to the Pawnee Agency two days hence.

Thy affectionate friend,

SAMUEL M. JANNEY."

The five Winnebago Indians accused of murder were tried in one of the courts of the State of Nebraska, and being found guilty, were sent to the penitentiary for life. The chiefs of the Winnebago tribe were deposed by Agent White, with my approval, and an equal number of better men appointed in their stead. The next year, the chiefs were elected by the people, and subsequently annual elections were held. This plan was found to work well, and will undoubtedly have a salutary effect in preparing the Indians for the duties and privileges of citizenship.

(The following letter was addressed to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in 1871:)

INDIAN CIVILIZATION.

"Being about to retire from the position of Superintendent of Indian Affairs, I deem it not inappropriate to express the result of my

observations and reflections on the subject of Indian civilization. It is well known that in nearly all cases of advancement from savage to civilized life, the progress has been slow, and that the transition has usually occupied several generations. It may, however, be accelerated by bringing the subjects to be acted upon into familiar intercourse with good and enlightened people, who, by a course of uniform justice and kindness, may gain their confidence, and by examples of moral purity, inspire them with respect and love.

"In the endeavours that have been made to civilize and Christianize the Indians, too little attention has usually been given to the influence of woman and her peculiar adaptation to this work. In my judgment, the most efficient means we can use, is to employ in the Indian service families composed of intelligent, virtuous men and women accompanied by their children. Those should be selected who feel a real interest in the work, and who would engage in visiting the Indians in their dwellings, attending them in sickness, teaching their children, instructing the men in agricultural pursuits, and the women in household duties, thus leading them, by example and precept, to appreciate the beauty and excellency of Christian principles.

"We have found by experience, that very many of the Indian men may be induced by liberal wages promptly paid to perform the agricultural labors that were formerly imposed on their women, and that the Indian women very readily learn to attend to household duties; but our chief reliance is on the education of the young. The children show an aptitude for learning, and are very amiable, scarcely ever quarreling among themselves. There should be on every reservation a sufficient number of day schools to accommodate all the children between the ages of six and twelve years. They should be carefully taught to speak, read and write the English language, and should then be transferred to an Industrial Boarding School, of which there should be one or more on each reservation. In these schools the boys should be taught farming, gardening and the mechanical arts, and the girls instructed in housekeeping and sewing. By this means a tribe may be civilized and taught to speak the English language in a single generation.

"While this system of education is going forward, allotments of land should be assigned to every family, implements of agriculture, seeds and live stock furnished them, and assistance given them in building cottages.

"Religious instruction should be given adapted to their condition, and the practical part of Christianity illustrated by example.

"By these means I believe the enlightened and humane policy of President Grant may be successfully established, and the Aborigines of our country saved from extinction.

Very respectfully,
Thy friend,
SAMUEL M. JANNEY,
Superintendent of Indian Affairs.'

"*To the Commissioner of Indian Affairs.*"

CHAPTER XXIII.

1871.

Letter to a Joint Committee of Friends on Indian Affairs—Resigns his position—Letter from W. H. Macy relating to it—Barclay White is appointed as his successor—He is taken sick with intermittent fever—Returns to his home in Virginia.

On the 4th of Fifth month, 1871, I addressed a report to the Joint Committee of Friends on Indian Affairs, from which the following passages are selected:—

"I have recently visited the Santee, Winnebago, and Omaha Reservations, my chief object being to make a contract for supplying the Santee Sioux Indians with beef and flour during the remainder of the fiscal year, which ends on the 30th of the Sixth month. The contract was made to the satisfaction of the Agent and myself.

"Last year the crop of wheat, corn and garden vegetables at that Agency, owing to the long continued drought, was almost an entire failure. This year it is probable that half enough wheat will be raised on the Reservation to supply the Indians with bread, and a considerable area of land will be planted with corn.

"The flouring mill on Bazille Creek is nearly completed, and the steam saw mill near the Agency has supplied a large amount of lumber for the buildings in progress. The Indians are building houses for themselves on their allotments of land. They are generally built of

logs; the doors, windows and flooring boards being furnished by the Agent. Many of them have bedsteads, tables and chairs, being no longer willing to sit and sleep on the ground, as they did two years ago. The Indian women have made a large number of bed-quilts from the materials furnished by Friends. It was said one hundred and fifty quilts were made or in progress, and the sewing neatly done.

"There are two Mission schools. That of the Congregationalists was not in session while I was there; that of the Episcopalians I visited. It did not appear to me to be conducted with much success. The Indians at their Agency write and receive many letters in the Dakota language, but very few of them speak or write English.

"An Industrial school is much needed, but funds for it have not been supplied.

"The English language alone should be taught in the Indian schools, to prepare them for intercourse with the Whites on equal terms, and to give them access to the treasures of English literature.

"On my way home I stopped at the Winnebago Agency, but the weather was so stormy that I could not visit the Indians nor examine their improvements.

"I was informed that an election of chiefs took place on the 1st of the Fourth month, and was conducted in an orderly manner, all the men being permitted to vote. Each of the twelve chiefs selected a policeman from his own band. Annual elections of officers have not heretofore been known among the Indians of this Superintendency, and the Winnebagoes are the only ones who have tried the experiment. I think it is a step in the right direction.

"Agent White informed me that he had sown a considerable area of land in wheat, which, together with that sown by a few of the Winnebagoes, would probably amount to four hundred acres. If it yields well, there will be a sufficiency to supply the tribe with bread. Some of the Indians are raising young cattle and hogs, and many of them have chickens. We hope they will be self-supporting in a year or two, but during the last year, as well as many years previous, a large proportion of their income has been expended for subsistence. Their rations of flour, beef and salt in one year cost $28,000.

"Their allotment of land will be occupied by many of them this year, and houses are now being built by them with the aid of the carpenter and six Indian apprentices. There are three Day schools and two First-day Schools. An Industrial school is greatly needed, for which an application has been made to the Department.

"I next visited the Omaha Agency with satisfaction. The Indians of this tribe have lately received from the Interior Department certificates for their allotments of land which have been anxiously looked for and are highly prized. A large quantity of lumber for their houses has been sawed; part of it is hauled to their allotments, and some comfortable houses are being built by the carpenter and his Indian apprentices. The Omahas have corn to sell from their last year's crop, and about one hundred acres have been seeded in wheat. They receive no rations of meat or flour from the Government. I visited two of their schools, which were well conducted.

"The chiefs and head men of the Pawnees have for some time manifested a desire to make peace with the Sioux, who have for generations been their enemies, and who frequently commit depredations, stealing their horses and killing and scalping their men and women. When Red Cloud, the famous Sioux chief, after his visit to Washington, passed through Omaha, I had an interview with him, and expressed my desire that he would make peace with the Pawnees. He said that he had not time to stop then for the purpose, and could not do it without consulting his people. According to my recollection, he said further: 'The Pawnees were once our friends—we were like brothers; but in a war they joined with the whites and killed some of our best men; and now we consider them no better than whites.'

"By authority of Commissioner Parker, I afterwards corresponded with J. M. Washburn, United States Agent at Whetstone, who has charge of the bands of Sioux commanded by the chief, Spotted Tail, in order to bring about a treaty between him and the chiefs of the Pawnees. He expressed his willingness to make a treaty and to keep it, and for some time I expected to meet with the representatives of the two tribes at the Santee Agency in the early part of last month. But I received, while at the Santee Agency, a letter from Agent Washburn, stating that Spotted Tail and his subordinate chiefs, though willing to make the proposed treaty and to keep it, were unanimously of opinion that such a treaty made by them without the concurrence of the other bands of Sioux, would not be safe, as it would be considered a declaration of war by all the Sioux not concerned in it. I regret the failure of this cherished measure, but the overture made by the Pawnees and the willingness manifested by Spotted Tail to accept, will, I think, promote a better state of feeling between them.

"Many of the Pawnees are desirous to open farms and to be provided with good houses instead of the mud lodges they now live in. The chief obstacle in the way is their fear of incursions from the Sioux, who sometimes lurk around in the night and kill any of the tribe whom they find outside of the villages.

"Last year the Pawnee chiefs set apart seven thousand dollars of their annuity money to improve their mill and to purchase live stock and agricultural implements. This year they are willing to apply a still larger sum for purposes of improvement. Their Manual Labor School continues to be very satisfactory, and a commodious house for a Day school has just been completed.

"Within the last three months I have visited the Great Nemaha Agency twice, and was well satisfied with the progress of the Iowa Tribe. The store established by Friends of Philadelphia for the benefit of the tribe, continues to be a complete success, and arrangements are now being made by Agent Lightfoot to establish an Industrial Home for Orphans. I think the funds applicable to this purpose will board about fifteen orphans, and they will attend the school taught by Mary B. Lightfoot, which is well conducted. She has added a sewing department, which has been a great benefit to the Indian women.

"The reports received from the Otoe Agency are satisfactory. The school is very successful, and Agent Green hopes to establish another very soon. The Indians of this tribe are overcoming their old habits of indolence, and many of them are now desirous to open farms and build houses, in which work they are assisted by the Agent to the utmost of his ability.

SAMUEL M. JANNEY,

Superintendent of Indian Affairs."

Having, in the latter part of the year 1870, come to the conclusion that I would resign my office, I wrote as follows:

"*To the General Committee of Friends on the Indian Concerns:*

"DEAR FRIENDS.—I have for some time had it in contemplation to inform the General Committee that I do not think it will be required of me to retain the office of Superintendent of Indian Affairs longer

than the autumn of next year. I submitted to the appointment from a sense of duty, believing it would be right for me to acquiesce in the judgment of Friends, and feeling a deep interest in the work to which I was called. There are, however, other duties, of a religious nature, which I think I will be required to perform, and I feel assured there are in our Society many Friends as competent as I am to perform the duties of Superintendent. After I shall have made my third annual report, which will be due the last of the Ninth month, 1871, I think I shall feel at liberty, with the consent of my friends, to retire from this field of labor. My commission runs for four years from the 22nd of Fourth month, 1869.

"Having nearly reached the end of my seventieth year, it seems proper that the declining period of my life should be passed in some degree of tranquility, though I still feel desirous to labor according to my ability in the Good Master's service.

Your cordial friend,

SAMUEL M. JANNEY."

On the 2nd of the Sixth month, 1871, I transmitted to William H. Macy, Secretary of the Executive Committee of Friends, the following communication:

"TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES:

"I propose retiring from the position I now occupy as Superintendent of Indian Affairs in the Northern Superintendency at the close of the third quarter of this year. Being now in my seventy-first year, I wish to be relieved from the care and labor attendant on this office. I therefore tender my resignation, to take effect on the 30th of the Ninth month, 1871.

Respectfully submitted,

SAMUEL M. JANNEY."

A letter from William H. Macy, dated Third month, 11th, 1871, was accompanied by the following minute:

"*At a Meeting of the Executive Committee appointed to represent the Convention of Delegates on Indian Affairs of the Six Yearly Meetings, held at Race Street Meeting-house.*

"PHILADELPHIA, Second month, 21st, 1871.

"WILLIAM H. MACY, Secretary, and WILLIAM DORSEY, Assistant. Present, eleven members.

"A letter from Samuel M. Janney was read, dated Second month 6th, 1871, enclosing his resignation as Superintendent of the Northern Superintendency of Indians, addressed to the President of the United States, to take effect on the 30th of Ninth month next.

"The subject claimed the deliberate consideration of the committee, and after an expression of much feeling and regret at parting with his services in his present position, his resignation was accepted.

"Barclay White, of New Jersey, was then proposed as a Friend suitable for Superintendent in the place of Samuel M. Janney, which being fully united with, it was concluded to present his name to the President for that station.

"A communication was read, from Barclay White, stating that he was willing to submit to the judgment and wishes of his friends should they feel it right to nominate him to the President.

"The Secretary was directed to forward to Samuel M. Janney and Barclay White copies of the foregoing minute. Signed on our behalf,

WILLIAM H. MACY,
Secretary."

In the latter part of the Eighth month, 1871, after my return from a visit to the Winnebago and Omaha Agencies, I was taken sick with intermittent fever, which was thought to be increased in severity by anxiety of mind about Indian affairs. I was mercifully favored to obtain relief, but my strength was much reduced.

The writing of my Annual report to the Government and the care attendant on settling up official business, was too much for my exhausted frame, and near the close of the Ninth month I was taken with the ague.

On the 1st of Tenth month I left Omaha, having delivered to Barclay White the property and funds on hand belonging to the Government. My daughter-in-law, Eliza F. Janney, who had been my chief clerk, was invited by my successor to retain the position. She accepted the offer, and remained at Omaha with her two children.

My wife and daughter accompanied me on the homeward journey. We stopped at West Liberty, Iowa, where we remained about two weeks in order that my strength might be sufficiently restored to travel with safety and comfort. During our stay in that place we attended the meetings of Friends with satisfaction, and on resuming our journey we stopped a few days at Richmond, Indiana, and Waynesville, Ohio, where we attended the meetings of Friends, and, by request, I gave some account of the condition and prospects of the Indians in Nebraska.

On the 27th of Tenth month, 1871, we arrived in Baltimore just in time to attend our Yearly Meeting, and were received by Friends with a hearty welcome. They recognized the propriety of my withdrawal from the Indian service, and we rejoiced together in a cordial reunion of religious fellowship.

During the time of the Yearly Meeting there was a Convention of Delegates from the Yearly Meetings of Philadelphia, New York, Baltimore, Ohio, Indiana and Genesee, which met to consider the work of Indian civilization entrusted to our care.

I made a report in writing to the Convention, and also delivered to a large audience a lecture on the progress of this work in Nebraska and the prospect of successfully carrying out the humane policy of the President in improving the condition of the Indians.

CHAPTER XXIV.

1873.

Attends Ohio Yearly Meeting with James M. Walker as companion—They visit some meetings belonging to it—Attends Indiana Yearly Meeting.

1873, Eighth month, 28th.—Left home, and being joined on the way by my friend James M. Walker as companion, and by Jesse Hoge and his companion, William B. Steer, we entered the cars at Berlin and reached Cumberland, Maryland, that evening. On Sixth-day we proceeded via Pittsburg, and reached Salem, in Ohio, on the evening of that day, where we were kindly received and hospitably entertained by Martha Stanton.

Eighth month, 30th.—Attended the meeting of Ministers and Elders, and the Representative committee.

31st.—Attended the meetings for Divine worship at Salem in the morning and afternoon. I was engaged in Gospel ministry in the morning meeting to the relief and satisfaction of my own mind, and was followed by Elihu Durfee, of Cincinnati, and some other Friends, whose ministry was lively and edifying. In the afternoon, Sunderland P. Gardner, of Farmington, New York, spoke at considerable length to edification.

Ninth month, 1st.—The Yearly Meeting convened, and the usual business was transacted. The epistles from other Yearly Meetings were edifying, and some instructive remarks were made. In the evening a meeting of the First-day School Association was held in the meeting-house. Only

three schools were represented, two of which have been conducted to satisfaction. I thought it my duty to address the meeting with a view to remove the prejudice existing in some minds, and to show that First-day schools, properly conducted, with a reliance upon Divine aid, have in many cases been blessed to the children and the teachers, and have resulted in reviving the spiritual life and increasing the attendance of Friends' meetings.

Ninth month, 2nd.—The Yearly Meeting was chiefly occupied with the answers to the Queries and the consideration of the state of Society. In the evening of Third-day, a meeting of the Indian Committee was held, and much interest manifested in the cause of Indian civilization.

Ninth month, 3rd.—A meeting for Divine worship was held which was well attended, solemn, and I think generally satisfactory. I was exercised in the early part of the meeting and led to express my views on the Scriptures of Truth, the guidance of Divine Grace, the coming of Christ in the flesh, and his spiritual appearance in his people as the power of God unto salvation.

In the afternoon a joint meeting of men and women was held to hear the report on Indian affairs. After it was read the clerk of the Yearly Meeting rose and requested me, on behalf of the meeting, to give a statement of the condition of the Indians in Nebraska. I complied with the request, and gave a description of their mode of life and the progress they have made in civilization since Friends have had the care of them.

4th.—The Yearly Meeting sat about four hours, being engaged most of the time in the consideration of an epistle to other Yearly Meetings and two petitions to the Constitutional Convention, relating to capital punishment

and the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors. The meeting then concluded.

5th.—Accompanied by my companion, James M. Walker, we proceeded to New Brighton, where we attended a meeting in the evening in Friends' Meeting-house. It was small, but was, I think, lively and satisfactory.

6th.—Were at a meeting at Columbiana. It was small, but the congregation was attentive and our labors among them satisfactory. In the afternoon, we went by rail to Alliance, thence to the neighborhood of Deer Creek Meeting.

7th.—Attended the meeting at Cope's Run and West Meeting-house. They were well attended, and the Gospel was preached to the edification of many. Sunderland P. Gardner was called forth in all these meetings to exercise his gift in the ministry. Jesse Hoge also spoke acceptably, and I was engaged in advocating the cause of Truth, which was attended by the reward of peace.

8th.—We came to the neighborhood of Mount Pleasant and the house of Kenworthy Hoge.

9th.—Attended Short Creek Monthly Meeting. In the meeting for worship I delivered a brief communication. In the evening we had a meeting at Mount Pleasant, in a Methodist meeting-house, which was filled with a large and attentive congregation, among whom were many Orthodox Friends of the class called Gurneyites, it being now the time of their Yearly Meeting at this place. My mind was much exercised, and I expressed my views in relation to the coming of Christ, his work while in the flesh, in bearing witness to the Truth, and for which he also suffered. The effect of his labor and sufferings was to reconcile man to God, removing the enmity from man's heart, and through the baptism of the Holy Spirit, purifying those who

submit to its operation, and making them partakers of the Divine nature.

Sunderland P. Gardner followed in a very impressive discourse. He spoke in strong terms against the commonly received doctrine of original sin, and expressed his belief that man's temptations spring from the perversion of his appetites and desires, and not from a devil or evil spirit.

The meeting ended with public supplication, and was satisfactory to many; but some objection was made after meeting, by our Orthodox Friends, to Sunderland's views in relation to the non-existence of an evil spirit distinct and separate from man.

10th.—Attended an appointed meeting, at four P. M., in Short Creek Meeting-house. After we had spoken, H. H., a Methodist minister, appeared in prayer. We had in the morning attended a public meeting for worship, held by the Orthodox (Gurney) Friends, at Mount Pleasant. When we reached the house, one of their ministers was reading aloud the Epistle of Jude. He made some comments intended to prove the existence of an evil spirit, and the doctrine of everlasting torment of the wicked in hell. He was followed by another minister in a long discourse on the same subjects, and the doctrines of original sin and vicarious atonement. He expressed the doctrines of J. J. Gurney as I had read them in his works. A prayer or two were then offered, and at the close of the meeting a woman was introduced, who gave an account of a boarding-school for colored girls she was about to establish in Mississippi. In order to aid her, a collection was taken up by passing hats around among the men.

11th.—We attended an evening meeting in Georgetown in a Methodist meeting-house.

12th.—On returning to the neighborhood of Mount Pleasant, we received a message from a Methodist minister, who sent his son to meet us and request us to hold another meeting in that town. He said we had thrown a bomb-shell among them, and they wished us to take it away or give them another.

We took it into serious consideration, and concluded to appoint a meeting in Friends' Yearly Meeting-house at Mount Pleasant. The Orthodox Yearly Meeting held there had adjourned. There was a considerable audience, among whom were a number of Orthodox Friends and some Methodists.

Sunderland P. Gardner spoke first, and delivered a powerful discourse. I followed him in a communication relating to the doctrines and principles of Friends and the views of the early Friends concerning the Divinity of Christ and the reconciliation and salvation of man through Christ.

It was observed that D. U., an Orthodox minister, was taking notes, and after I had spoken he rose and inquired whether the Friends who had appointed the meeting would allow him to ask a question. We said nothing in reply, and he remained quiet. After supplication had been made, a brief discourse was delivered by Jesse Hoge, and the meeting closed. It was a solemn and impressive season of Divine worship, very satisfactory to our Friends.

After meeting, several persons inquired whether I could furnish them with a brief exposition of Friends' principles. I had two copies of my "Summary of Christian Doctrines," which I left at my lodgings for them, and I wrote to a Friend in Philadelphia to send a supply of them for distribution at Mount Pleasant. There is much inquiry concerning our doctrinal views, occasioned in part by the

aspersions cast upon us by some of those called Orthodox Friends. They have, as we think, departed from the original ground of Friends, not only in their doctrines, but in the conduct of some of their meetings.

They now hold night meetings for the purpose of giving in their experience, and every one is urged to "testify," as they call it. The exhortations, prayers and hymns follow each other in quick succession, and it is said there were nearly a hundred at one sitting.

13th.—We attended a meeting at Concord in the morning, and an appointed meeting at St. Clairsville, in a Methodist meeting-house, in the evening. They were small and tolerably satisfactory.

14th.—At Friends' Meeting-house, called Plainfield, we held on First-day, a meeting in the morning and another in the afternoon. They were largely attended by Friends and others, and were both good meetings. I was favored with ability to preach the Gospel.

Friends in this neighborhood, as well as in several others in Ohio, are placed in discouraging circumstances. Their numbers have been reduced by emigration to the West, and by dissensions formerly prevailing among them; their ministers are few, and many of their elders and experienced members have been removed by death. I fear there is too much luke-warmness among them; but they have expressed great satisfaction with our labors, and I trust there has been some awakening and renewing of strength.

15th.—We rode in the morning in a wagon twenty miles to Somerton, and attended meeting. Then eight miles, to Barnesville, and held a meeting in the Presbyterian meeting-house, at seven P. M. These were both good meetings.

16th.—We were at Friends' Meeting-house called Rich-

land, and at the close some Methodists who were present invited us to hold a meeting at Quaker City, which we took into consideration and agreed to do. It was satisfactory.

17th.—To-day in the cars, I met with D. U., an Orthodox minister, who invited me to take a seat by him, and soon began to question me on my religious belief. A long conversation ensued, and I can only give the substance of a small part of it.

He queried what I meant by acknowledging the authority of the Scriptures, and whether I believed them to be the infallible record of the truth of God. I explained to him what I meant by their authenticity, and he repeated the question, whether I believed in their infallibility. I told him I did not, but I held the views expressed by Barclay, that mistakes had been made in transcription and translation, and that some interpolations had crept in. I instanced the text, (I. John, v. 7,): There are three that bear record in Heaven," etc. He expressed his belief that the Bible is an infallible record.

He queried whether I believed in the miraculous conception of Jesus. I replied that I believed in the account of that event as given by the Evangelists, and also in the spiritual fact corresponding with it, the new birth in the soul which takes place in those who accept the visitations of Divine love, and live in obedience to the Divine law. I stated also that I believed in the miracles, holy life, patient sufferings, crucifixion and resurrection of Jesus Christ. In answer to a question, I stated that Jesus came to bear witness to the truth as he testified, and that he suffered for the truth, but not as a substitute to pay the penalty of man's transgression.

Reverting to the subject of the Scriptures, I remarked

that the Apostles were not infallible, as they sometimes differed, and Paul charged Peter with dissimulation. I did not see how fallible men could write an infallible book, and stated my belief that Jesus Christ was the only infallible person that ever appeared in human form.

I told him I thought they had departed in doctrine and worship from the early Friends, and he gave me to understand that he did not think it important to adhere to their example, but to take the Scriptures for a guide.

21st, First-day.—We attended meeting in the morning at Waynesville, which was large and satisfactory. In the afternoon, had an appointed meeting at Springboro', which was well attended and lively.

22nd.—We visited the Miami Valley Institute, a boarding-school for both sexes, under the care of Friends, in which manual labor is combined with instruction in school learning. It appears to be well conducted and satisfactory.

24th.—Came to Harveysburg and were at Miami Monthly Meeting. It was attended by as many as could well sit in the house. After an interval of silence, I thought I was authorized to speak on the parable of the "leaven hid in three measures of meal," showing the effect of the principle of Divine life to bring the physical, intellectual and moral nature in the obedient soul into its own nature, and thus establish the reign of God in man. After speaking a short time I found nothing further to say, and on taking my seat I said the opening I had to speak was closed, but perhaps another may be called upon to continue the subject.

Sunderland P. Gardner then rose and delivered a very excellent discourse, in which he alluded to my remarks and corroborated my testimony. After he closed, I rose and said in substance:

"'Let the Lord send by whom He will send,' is the prayer of my heart. I fully believe in the Apostolic declaration, 'There are diversities of gifts, but the same spirit; differences of administration, but the same Lord; diversities of operations, but it is the same God which worketh all in all.' "I desire, for myself and for you, that we may all wait at Wisdom's gate, ready to obey the Divine call, and ascribe to God the glory of His own work."

I felt much humbled before the Lord, and for some hours endeavored to withdraw my thoughts from temporal things to wait upon Him, but being surrounded by company, could not attain the retirement I desired. Upon further reflection I came to the conclusion that the sudden closing of the prospect or impression by which I was led to speak was a salutary lesson intended for my improvement.

From Harveysburg we went to Wilmington and attended a meeting appointed for us in a public hall. It was small, and I found but little opening for religious service.

25th.—We went by rail to Cincinnati and attended Friends' Monthly Meeting. In the evening of the same day we had an appointed meeting in Friends' Meeting-house, which was satisfactory. I found some opening for service.

Ninth month, 27th.—We attended the meeting of ministers and elders of Indiana Yearly Meeting, which was a season of Divine favor.

28th.—On First-day two meetings for worship were held. In the forenoon meeting I was called forth in the ministry, and felt the reward of peace.

On Second and Third-day the Yearly Meeting was engaged in the usual routine of business, which was trans-

acted in brotherly love, and much edifying counsel was handed forth.

A proposition came from Blue River Quarterly Meeting for a new Yearly Meeting to be held at Clear Creek, Illinois, to be composed of Blue River and Prairie Grove Quarterly Meetings. A committee of men and women was appointed to visit those Quarterly Meetings, and those subordinate to them, in conjunction with a committee of Baltimore Yearly Meeting, of which Prairie Grove Quarter is a branch. They are to report next year their judgment in the case.

On Fourth-day morning there was a meeting for Divine worship, and in the afternoon the Yearly Meeting of men and women met in joint session to hear the report on Indian affairs.

On Fifth-day the Yearly Meeting held two sittings, and closed about sunset with a feeling of gratitude to the Heavenly Shepherd, whose presence and power had been felt among us, preserving us in harmony and affording us the consolation of his spirit. The meeting closed with solemn supplication to the tendering of many hearts.

During three evenings of Yearly Meeting week, the First-day School General Conference occupied the meeting-house, where a large concourse of Friends assembled to hear the reports and listen to the exercises. Delegates were present from Baltimore, Philadelphia, New York, Indiana, and Ohio, and great interest was manifested in the good work of religious instruction now in successful progress in many places.

The next day after the close of the Yearly Meeting, we started homeward from Richmond and reached our habitations on Seventh-day, the 4th of Tenth month. During this journey we traveled about eighteen hundred miles and were absent from home thirty-eight days.

I feel thankful to the Author of all Good for His providential care and preserving grace. If any good has been done, to Him alone be the praise.

CHAPTER XXV.

1875–80.

Goes as one of a committee to attend the opening of Illinois Yearly Meeting—Fiftieth anniversary of his marriage—Verses by T. M. J.—Attends the Yearly Meetings of Philadelphia and New York—Visits the Centennial Exposition—Attends Warrington Quarterly Meeting and the meetings composing it—Death of A. M. Janney—Reflections upon his seventy-seventh birth-day—Goes to Washington on Indian affairs—Attends Philadelphia and New York Yearly Meetings—His closing record—Attends Waterford Quarterly Meeting—Attends the opening of the new meeting-house at Washington—Illness and death—Extracts from memorial prepared by Friends. 1874–80.

[Although the facility of expression that characterized his pen through life enabled him during his declining years to express with equal clearness and precision the facts or sentiments he desired to communicate, there was an evident decline in his inclination to use the pen, and an increasing tendency to reading and meditation—a mental *inertia,* as he expressed it. This will account for the fact, that during the last years of his life the records made were few and brief. In his note-book we find the following entries:]

1875, Ninth month, 6th.—Left home with the prospect of attending the opening of Illinois Yearly Meeting,

having been appointed by our Yearly Meeting one of the committee assigned to that service.

(In a letter to his wife he says:)

We arrived here safely on Sixth-day, the 10th inst. Yesterday there was a great gathering at the new meeting-house. It is said that all other places of worship within eight miles around were closed, in order that their members might attend our meeting. There was much speaking in the line of the ministry; I had some service, and others spoke very acceptably.

To-day, at 8 A. M., the ministers and elders met, and at 10 A. M. the Yearly Meeting assembled. We met with the partitions open, and at the request of our committee, I read the minutes of Baltimore and Indiana Yearly Meetings appointing us to attend the opening of Illinois Yearly Meeting. Then, after some appropriate remarks, the shutters were closed and the men and women proceeded to business.

Ninth month, 16th.—The meeting closed under a feeling of reverent thankfulness that our Heavenly Father's canopy of love had been over us, enabling us to move in harmony and to worship Him in spirit and in truth.

Third month, 11th, 1876.—On the 9th inst., being the fiftieth anniversary of our marriage, we had at our house the company of our children and grand-children, brothers and sisters, who were able to attend, and some of our nephews and nieces. After dinner we assembled in the parlor, when my sister Tacy recited the following touching little poem she had composed for the occasion:

"Heavenly Father! Lord eternal!
Listen to our heartfelt prayer;
Fold Thy loving arms paternal
Closely round this happy pair.

"By 'still waters' they are resting,
And we gather here to-day,
Fondest love for them attesting—
Wilt thou, Lord, prolong their stay?

"Fifty years they 've passed together,
Up and down life's rugged steep;
Thou hast gently led them hither,
Safe from harm our loved ones keep.

"Aided by *his* gentle teaching,
Gladdened by *her* tender love,
Many are the hearts outreaching
Toward our Father's home above.

"There, from purest fountain springing,
Streams of 'living waters' flow,
With their waves of gladness bringing
Joys that only Heaven can know.

"We would, then, invoke Thy Spirit;
Lead and guide us on our way.
May we all that home inherit—
In our Saviour's 'name' we pray."

After an interval of silent worship, I offered up my feelings of gratitude and adoration to the Author of all Good for the many blessings He had conferred upon us, and especially for the privilege of living together for so long a period in sweet unity and entire harmony. In the evening some of our near neighbors were invited to our house, when we enjoyed together a social re-union very grateful to our feelings.

On the 10th of Fifth month, 1876, I left home, accompanied by my daughter Cornelia, in order to attend the Yearly meetings of Philadelphia and New York, having obtained a minute for that purpose.

We met with a kind and cordial reception from our

friends in Philadelphia, and attended their Yearly Meeting with much satisfaction. I found, in the public meetings for worship, opportunities for the exercise of my gift in the Gospel ministry, and endeavored to express, in simplicity and clearness, the views presented, which brought the reward of peace. In the meeting for discipline there was much salutary exercise expressed by many Friends, and the business was conducted with dignity and harmony.

After the conclusion of the Yearly Meeting, having an interval of leisure, I felt at liberty to spend the greater part of two days at the Centennial Exposition, which presented a wonderful display of the productions of industry and art from nearly all civilized nations. It is calculated to enlarge the boundaries of knowledge and to promote fraternal relations among the several nations who have contributed to it. It seems to me that the various peoples represented there and mingling in harmonious intercourse will become interested in each other, and in case of future national differences, will be less disposed than heretofore to engage in hostile collisions.

During a part of the succeeding week, we attended Bucks Quarterly Meeting, held at Buckingham, which was large and proved to be a season of Divine favor. Our valued friend, Thomas Foulke, met us there, and after its close, accompanied us the same day to his house in New York, where we made our home during the Yearly Meeting.

It was a season of enjoyment and edification both in the meetings for worship and church discipline. The social intercourse we enjoyed with our friends in Philadelphia, New York and Brooklyn was not only delightful but conducive to spiritual improvement, for "as iron sharpeneth iron so a man sharpeneth the countenance of his friend."

Ninth month, 9th.—On the 5th inst. I returned home, after an absence of thirteen days, during which, in company with my brother Asa, I visited Warrington Quarterly Meeting, held at Monallen, Pennsylvania, and the meetings composing it. We traveled in a carriage with one horse two hundred and twenty-six miles, going and returning. The meetings in that quarter are small, and most of them weak, owing to luke-warmness and unfaithfulness on the part of many members. I labored among them in the service of the Gospel according to the ability received, and have reason to believe my services were very acceptable. I look back upon the journey with satisfaction and thankfulness to the Author of all Good, who abundantly rewards every sincere effort to serve Him.

Sixth month, 1st, 1877.—Yesterday, about two o'clock in the morning, my dear brother, Asa M. Janney, departed this life, in the seventy-fifth year of his age.

His disease was pneumonia; he was sick about ten days, and during the latter part of that time he suffered much from difficulty of breathing and extreme debility. He made a peaceful close and has doubtless entered into the rest prepared for the righteous.

In his youth he was deeply impressed with a desire to lead a holy life, and through Divine aid he was enabled to walk in the path of purity, being remarkably preserved from evil, and faithful in following his religious convictions. A more disinterested, self-sacrificing man I have never known, and he was universally beloved.

1878, First month, 11th.—To-day is the seventy-seventh anniversary of my birth, and I feel thankful to the Author of all Good for the many blessings He has bestowed on me and my family. My health is better than it was this time last year, and my strength, though much diminished,

is as great as I can reasonably expect at this time of life. In looking back over the past year I feel that I have not done as much as I hoped to do for the cause of truth. I have allowed myself to be too easily discouraged, and have indulged in reading when I might have been more active in promoting the happiness of others.

My prayer is to my Heavenly Father, that He will continue His loving care and guide me in the way of truth.

On Fourth-day, the 6th of Second month, 1878, I went to Washington, and met delegates from six of the seven Yearly Meetings of Friends having the care of the Indians in Nebraska, and of the Pawnees in the Indian Territory.

We found much cause for discouragement. Of the six Agencies under our care, only two have Agents regularly confirmed. Four Agents nominated by us and appointed by the President have not been confirmed by the Senate, by reason of the opposition of the Senators from Nebraska. Their opposition to all our nominations is likely to continue, although the President and Secretary of the Interior express a decided wish for us to continue in the service.

The convention adopted the following minute:

"In consideration of the difficulties in the Pawnee Agency, the delegates have come to the conclusion that a communication should be addressed to the Secretary of the Interior, asking that Friends may be relieved from the responsibility of nominating Agents for that Agency, and offering to continue our services in the education and civilization of the Pawnees if an opportunity is afforded and satisfactory arrangements can be made."

Our secretary was requested to submit this to the Baltimore Committee on the Indian Concern for their consideration and action.

1878, Sixth month, 5th.—On the 3rd inst. I returned from a visit to the Yearly Meetings of Philadelphia and New York, again accompanied by my daughter Cornelia.

The meetings were seasons of Divine favor and spiritual enjoyment, in which I was enabled to "labor in the ability which God giveth." The retrospect affords satisfaction and peace.

1880, First month, 12th.—Yesterday was my birth-day, my age being seventy-nine. It was the First-day of the week, and the weather being mild and pleasant, we had a large attendance at our meeting. It was felt to be a season of Divine favor and impressive solemnity. Several Friends spoke acceptably, and I was called forth in Gospel ministry with an unusual degree of life and power, for which I feel thankful to the Author of all Good.

During most of the year just passed I was in poor health, and part of the time not able to attend meeting; but suffered very little pain, and notwithstanding my debility, enjoyed many seasons of precious communion with the Father of Spirits. I feel grateful for the many favors I enjoy in the evening of life, and earnestly desire that I may, through Divine aid, hold out to the end, trusting in the Arm of Divine Power, and rejoicing in the assurance of salvation through Christ.

[A loving sister, with whom, for some years previous to his death, he had almost daily intercourse, gives the following from her note-book:]

In the Second month he enjoyed the privilege of attending the Quarterly Meeting at Waterford in company with his wife and daughter C——, and his aged friend William Holmes.

In the Third month, the opening of the new meeting-house in Washington, at the time of the Circular Meeting held there, was an occasion fraught with such deep interest to him, that notwithstanding the precarious season of the year for an aged invalid, the yearning of his heart led him to attend; and he enjoyed, with his usual wholeheartedness, both the social and religious features of the event. His presence there was very gratifying to his numerous friends, some of whom had come from a distance, and his voice was the first to be heard in those impressive words of counsel that came so appropriately on that occasion.

After a short but most enjoyable sojourn with kind relatives in Georgetown and Alexandria, he returned home, brightened in spirits and by no means injured in health, and for some weeks the sweet serenity of his evening sky was undimmed by acute or alarming symptoms.

On the subject of substituting arbitration for the sword, he had long been deeply interested, and had often spoken of war as a terrible evil, involving in its course every form of vice. His very last publication was a little volume entitled, "Peace Principles Exemplified," published in 1876, and the last time he spoke in public was at a peace meeting held in Friends' Meeting-house, at Lincoln, on the First-day afternoon previous to his illness.

A cold, occasioned by the sudden changes in the weather, assumed the form of pneumonia, and for two weeks the dear sufferer was watched with tenderest anxiety by those whose devoted love made it a privilege to suffer with him.

During most of this time their fears alternated with hope, and this hope was, to some extent, shared by him; for much as he loved to contemplate the purified joys of

another state of existence, where the sublime promises of the Redeemer of mankind should have their full fruition in the mansions above, his affections clung very closely to those about him, and he felt himself peculiarly favored in his domestic relations.

His greatest suffering was from difficult respiration, a form of disease that seemed in great measure to interdict conversation; but his warm sympathy in matters of domestic, social and public interest manifested itself in occasional questions, that sometimes surprised his listeners.

Like Timothy, he "had known the Holy Scriptures from a child," and for many years their perusal had been his daily habit. During his last illness, he enjoyed peculiarly the beautiful and comforting promises contained in the last chapters of John which were read to him; and to his dear married daughter, M. A. S., he remarked, after asking her to read a chapter from the Bible, "It is a good practice for Friends to frequently read the Scriptures in their families, with a pause for reflection. It has always been recommended in our Society."

On one occasion, having spoken of the uncertainty of his recovery, he expressed a desire to be submissive to the Divine will, and remarked, "I have tried to do my duty, and although I feel there are many imperfections and shortcomings, I believe I will be accepted as I am. Many dear friends have gone before me whom I hope to meet."

On the 30th of Fourth month, after some hours of great suffering, when it became evident that the end was near, he said, "I pray that I may have an easy passage, in His own good time; He knows what is best. I hope my patience will hold out to the end. Oh, Lord! unclasp these bonds and let me go. Father, wilt Thou enable me to bear what Thou requirest of me? Oh, Lord! wilt Thou preserve me to the end?"

"May His peace rest with you all. Amen."
He then quietly fell asleep, and breathed his last.

(From a memorial issued by the Monthly Meeting with which he had been for forty years closely united in the bonds of love, we extract the following testimony, which was approved by the Yearly Meeting:)

"Strong in faith, earnest in feeling and well versed in the art of condensing the subject of his thoughts, there were few more effective speakers, but the feature that perhaps most strongly marked his religious life and characterized his ministry was the deep humility that blended itself with his gentle dignity, and modulated the expression of his sentiments.

"While fully believing in the universal goodness of God, few acknowledged more unreservedly the prophetic mission as revealed in the Old Testament, and the Divinity of Jesus Christ as made known in the New.

"He believed that God was in Christ reconciling the world unto Himself, and that this reconciliation can only be effected as men come under the influence of the same spirit which was in Jesus without measure, and which made him one with God, as it will ever make his true disciples one with him. He succeeded in avoiding those right hand and left hand errors that lead so many astray, and to cite the advice given by a valued elder, when young in the ministry, he was careful to "begin with the life, keep with the life, and end with the life."

"He was one who believed in the efficacy of prayer and praise, not as a formal mode of worship, but as an earnest invocation to the Supreme Being for help in weakness, or

in acknowledgment of benefits received and mercies bestowed. There was such a holy joy mingled with his supplications, that few who heard them failed to realize in their own experience something of that same stream of love that flowed from his grateful heart. May the meekness that prompts to prayer ever remain a trait of our beloved Society.

"He was deeply interested in the establishment of First-day schools, believing that our Society had in times past suffered great loss from a want of closer familiarity with the Scriptures, and anticipating from these institutions continued benefit.

"The wrongs visited on the Indians awakened his sympathies on their behalf, and when a way was opened for our Society to labor for the amelioration of their condition, though well advanced in years, he accepted an appointment in a far distant state, to engage in the work, and entered upon his duties with great zeal and assiduity. He remained there for two years and a half, when his health becoming enfeebled by the great fatigue and exposure he had undergone, he resigned the position which he had filled to the entire satisfaction of the Government and of the Society of Friends he represented. After his return home, his interest in the cause remained unabated, and we find him making many trips to Washington on their behalf.

"The efforts now being made in the country to advance the cause of temperance had his warm approval, nor was he less interested in the formation of societies for the promotion of peace.

"Tender and affectionate in his domestic life, warm and genial in his social nature, his sympathies were ever active in the discharge of duties involved in these various rela-

tions, and while beautifully fulfilling the injunction to "rejoice with those who do rejoice," he was equally mindful of "those who weep." Very grateful to the sick and afflicted were his ministrations at the bedside and in the house of mourning, as many can testify.

"Retaining his intellectual faculties to the last, and manifesting throughout the trying hours of dissolution (which were fraught with great suffering) the meekness and submission that had characterized him through life, he quietly passed away on the 30th of Fourth month, 1880.

"That his departure was felt to be a public loss in the community at large was evinced by the outpouring of the people, from far and near, to pay the last tribute of respect to one whom they regarded as the servant of God and the friend of his fellow-man."

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